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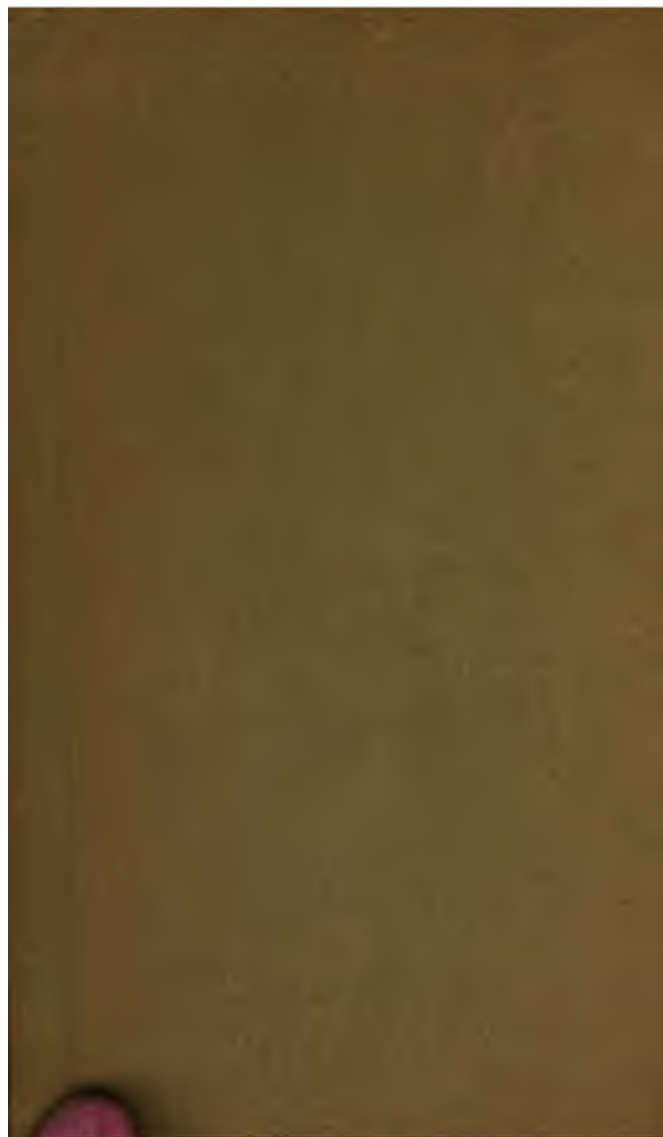
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BIOGRAPHY
OF
ISAAC HILL,

OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Cyrus Parker Bradley

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

**COMPRISING SELECTIONS FROM HIS SPEECHES,
AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.**

CONCORD, N. H.
PUBLISHED BY JOHN F. BROWN:

1835.

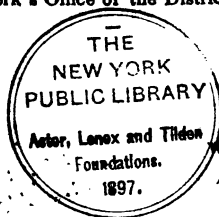
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AN
HILL
BRADLEY

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JOHN F. BROWN,

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PREFACE.

It was a remark of that celebrated female writer Madame de-Stael-Holstein, that the adventures of almost every individual would, in competent hands, supply the materials for an interesting novel. The truth of this proposition, however paradoxical it may at first seem, can hardly be doubted. It is from the common events of a common life, the excited hopes, the pleasing anticipations, the multiplied disappointments, the numerous vexations, the unavoidable accidents, the unexpected reversions of fortune, which make up the every-day round of human existence, connected with the degree of forbearance, fortitude, patience, resignation, prudence and moderation, with which all these various and varied occurrences have been endured, with their effects upon after life and the developement of character, that useful lessons for the regulation of our own conduct may be deduced and much matter of interest and subject of serious contemplation. On the other hand, the biography of some startling individual, some man of a million, who, like the flashing meteor or wandering comet, dashes his eccentric course across the path of the multitude, overthrowing the results of human calculation, and heedlessly striking down the barriers which mankind have by common consent, erected, as the eternal bounds of human enterprize and man's daring, may serve as a record of this miracle of the age, but would be far more likely to check the rising ambition of youth by the immeasurable distance at which its events must be contemplated, than to nourish their aspirations after fame and the possession of an honorable memory.

The object of Biographical writing, it has been aptly remarked, is two-fold,—both to impart historical information by a sketch of the life and acts of some eminent in-

dividual, and by displaying those acts in a true and proper light, devoid of false coloring or mis-statement, to lead others to virtue and honor, by exciting a laudable emulation of the good or an unconquerable disgust and horror of the wicked. To effect this latter and by far the most important end, nothing could be more appropriate, particularly in a country where there is no aristocracy of genius and where political advancement is the chief aim of our young men's ambition, than to note for the consideration of youth and the instruction of all, the progressive steps by which an individual has risen through his own enterprize, and by the most unconquerable perseverance and untiring industry, from the humblest station in life, to an honorable rank and comparative eminence.

Such is the design of this little book—a sketch of the life of a man who has borne no inconsiderable part in the political events of the last twenty years, who, as identified with the interests and success of one party and prominent in his opposition to another, has of course received his share of partizan abuse and the malignity of those whose designs he has skilfully and successfully opposed, but who, all will allow, affords a remarkable instance of what may be effected by the unaided perseverance of a friendless young man, and to whose industry, integrity and public spirit, all his personal acquaintances will bear testimony.

Trusting that such a work may not be altogether useless, this form has been preferred to a newspaper sketch, for which the materials were first collected. The facts stated are of unquestionable authority; of the correctness of the sentiments and opinions which have been introduced by the writer, every one will, of course, form his own judgment.

BIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC HILL,

Of New-Hampshire.



ISAAC HILL was born of poor but respectable parentage. His father, also named Isaac, is a native of the present town of West Cambridge, then a part of Cambridge, Mass., and known as the parish of Menotomy. He was a descendant of Abraham Hill of Charlestown, who was admitted *freeman* 1640, and, leaving two sons, Isaac and Abraham, died at Malden, 13 Feb. 1670. Abraham Hill, the grandfather of the subject of this memoir, was the fourth in descent from the first of that name, (the intermediate generations being Abraham, Abraham and Zachariah,) was a patriot of the French and Revolutionary wars, and died about five and twenty years ago. His wife survived him but a few years. Isaac, their youngest son, and the father of the subject of this memoir, was born about the year 1767, and is still living.

Mr. Hill's mother, Hannah Russell, is a descendant of William Russell, who came from England, lived in Cambridge as early as 1645 and left several sons. She was, likewise, a native of the parish of Menotomy, but of that part which belonged to Charlestown. The Menotomy boys were

far-famed among the "sons of liberty" for their invincible spirit and undaunted courage, and her father, Walter Russell, commanded a company of alarmist at the battle of Lexington, which did great service in harrassing the enemy, arresting the baggage-wagons, &c. He died 5 March 1783, aged 45.

At the house where this patriot and his immediate ancestors lived and died, Mr. Hill was born on the 6th of April 1788, being but sixteen years younger than his mother and the eldest of a family of nine children, having three brothers and five sisters, all of whom are living, and, with one exception, heads of families. The unfortunate situation of Mr. Hill's family, which might at first view, appear an irreparable injury, in fact proved to him a blessing in disguise. His grandfather returned, at the close of the war, to take charge of a family rendered destitute by the circumstances of the times, and was, in a short time, entirely ruined in his earthly prospects by the depreciation of his wages. The shock proved too great for his mind to bear, and he became subject to that awful calamity, which appears to have been constitutional in the family, partial insanity, which continued in all the gradations from perfect clearness of mind to raging madness, till his death. His father, by nature an industrious, capable man, undertook the charge of a rising family and the care of his ruined parent, when, shocking to relate, scarce six years had elapsed from his marriage, ere he was overtaken by a similar visitation of Providence, and his intellectual faculties almost entirely destroyed.

The whole burden of course fell upon his mother, and full well did the noble woman fulfil her part. Young Isaac, as the eldest of the family, was early called to share in his mother's responsibilities, and at an age, when other children are hardly permitted out of the reach of their mother's voice, he became to her a useful assistant, counsellor and friend. Incredible as it may seem, this mother, amid all the difficulties, which, to a common mind, would have appeared insuperable, contrived to save enough from the wreck of their ruined fortunes, to purchase a small farm in the town of Ashburnham, fifty miles distant from Menotomy. Hither his parents removed, in the spring of 1798, and here they both still live.

From what has been said, it will readily be conceived that his advantages in early life, as to the attainment of an education, were exceedingly limited.

Young men, at the present day, can hardly have an idea of the extent of the discouragements against which an enterprising lad, at that time and in the situation in which Mr. Hill was placed, was obliged to struggle to obtain the instruction for which his young mind thirsted. There existed then and in such a place, no public libraries, whence might be drawn food appropriate to the growth of the intellect, and little opportunity for reading, either from the newspapers of the day or from private collections of books. That glorious invention, the Lyceum, which has been, under Providence, the blessed means of great good to the present generation, and which, let Americans, in proportion as they value their political institu-

tions, cherish and sustain, had not yet been established, even in the villages and cities of the land. In addition to all this, in reference to Mr. Hill's particular case, it is to be remarked, that the place which his parents had selected for their future residence, and where young Isaac passed a brief, yet perhaps the most important part of his whole life, was a small and newly settled country town. It was here, for a portion of the period between the ages of ten and fourteen years, and then only during such intervals as the weather or other circumstances would admit of his being spared from the cultivation of the farm, and under such instruction as such a town would be likely to furnish, that Mr. Hill received most of the schooling that he ever enjoyed.

But, during this period, young Isaac made the most of his limited advantages. It was at this time, that he laid the foundation of that untiring industry and indomitable perseverance, for which he has ever been distinguished, and which have formed the whole secret of his success in private and political life. We have spoken of these four years which Mr. Hill passed at Ashburnham as perhaps the most important era in his life. We have ventured the remark, because we believe at that age are effected nearly all those important modifications of the natural disposition and character, which exert an essential, an all-powerful influence over the modes of thinking and modes of acting in after life.

But he had manifested at a much earlier period, his love of knowledge and desire of instruction. Before he was eight years of age, he had read

the Bible through in course, dwelling, with particular pleasure, upon the historical portions. Indeed, historical information was that which he most longed to acquire. At six years of age, he had greedily laid hold of a brief account of the war of the revolution, contained in one of the school-books of Webster, which he read till he had committed to memory. Then, for want of a more complete record of the events of that stirring period, he would seek from his grandparents and his uncles an account of the martial scenes which had occurred in their immediate vicinity, and in which they had participated. The stories of the "Concord fight" and the burning of Charlestown were often described for his amusement, with a clearness, because from actual observation, that laid in his breast the foundation of that hatred of tyranny and arbitrary rule which has ever been the governing trait in his character.

At seven years of age, Mr. Hill participated with the elder boys in speaking dialogues, and getting up mimic theatricals, in which they were encouraged by their instructor. At that period, his industry and love of learning, rarely allowing him to leave the school room during the hours of recreation, to mingle with the sports of his comrades, were held up by the master as worthy of imitation. He read every thing which came in his way, even from a few tattered leaves of a "Call to the Unconverted," which his father chanced to own, to the two penny tales which he found in the possession of his neighbors.

Ashburnham, at the period when Mr. Hill re-

sided there, was at the distance of twelve miles from the nearest post-town. The inhabitants, however, for a part of the time, were united in a company to take a small weekly paper then printed at Leominster, each going, by turns, to bring this precious repository of the news of the day. When it fell, in its round, into the possession of young Hill, every word was greedily devoured before it was suffered to drop out of his hands. The town, being sparsely settled, the winter school, as in many new towns at the present time, was kept but a few weeks in each district, and the boys were allowed, at the close of the school, to attend at some other district, in any part of the town. Of this privilege, Mr. Hill gladly availed himself, even at his tender age, lame and of weak constitution, at the cost of a daily journey of four or five miles in the severe storms of that mountainous region. Rich would he have considered himself, could he have gained the situation of the humblest charity scholar at a common academy !

Mr. Hill had, from necessity, been early inured to severe labor, but his constitutional infirmities did not admit of his following the pursuits of the agriculturalist, or those professions in which bodily strength is the principal requisite. Besides this, the younger children were fast growing up to fill his place, and he could better be spared from the care of the family. Next to the attainment of an education, it had been his highest ambition to follow the trade of a printer, which he had thought would afford him the opportunity of obtaining what he most desired—knowledge. He

had never seen a printing office, and knew, thought nor cared any thing for the severity of the labor or the expense of carrying on the business.

In these views his father and mother acquiesced.

It was at the age of fourteen, and after the enjoyment of such slender privileges, that the parents of Isaac Hill, with commendable prudence and an honorable desire to contribute to the future welfare of their son, determined to provide him with means amply sufficient to render him independent of every reverse of fortune, by sending him to acquire the rudiments of a useful and lucrative trade. This was, without doubt, the wisest course that could have been pursued. Deprived, by their situation and circumstances in life of the blessed privilege of giving their son a liberal education, they did not, as far too many parents do, suffer their child to pass the important period of youth, in learning the lessons of idleness, dissipation and vice ; to grow up, as it were, a sort of *left-hand* member of society and to find himself a man in stature and years but destitute of the means and destitute of the disposition to sustain his proper place among his fellow-men.

We are all, in some degree, mutually dependent upon each other—and this dependence is a necessary consequence of civilization. But if there is any portion of the community which can be termed independent, it is the laboring class ;—the mechanic and the farmer. They are the “bone and sinew of the republic ;” the right hand of freedom ; free from the taint of aristocratic associations, they are neither prepared servilely

to obey or haughtily to command. In our country and under our happy form of government, those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow are peculiarly fortunate in their situation. It is here more particularly, that they assume their proper place in society, the first file in the ranks of the free; it is here that they are made proudly sensible of their own political importance. Government, contrived for the express purpose of attaining the "greatest good of the greatest number," is here chiefly based upon a regard for their welfare, and instead of being a grinding curse to the faces of the poor, it is here particularly designed to encourage their honest efforts and defend them in the possession of their inalienable rights, from the selfish grasp of the purse-proud oppressor. The officers of government are here, not their masters, but their servants; not placed in authority by divine right, but by the free suffrages of a free people. The laboring class here are not disfranchised or deprived even partially of the rights nature has bestowed upon them. To them equally with the rest, is open the path to political preferment, to honors, to fame, to the respect of their fellow citizens. There is, in our country no royal road to distinction; no young mechanic need envy the lot of a son of luxury. He is now acquiring lessons of manly independence, is learning to think for himself, is gaining the rich stores of experience—all, acquisitions which eminently fit him for any station, however exalted, to which Providence and his own enterprise may yet raise him. The numerous bright instances which the history of our own country

can furnish, where persevering industry, worth and moral principle have triumphed over the fortuitous obstacles of rank and situation in life, are so many burning and shining lights for the encouragement of all who feel that they are at present below the sphere for which they were by nature intended.

But to return from this digression, to which our subject has naturally led us. An unlooked for opportunity for the accomplishment of their wishes was soon offered Mr. Hill and his parents. Mr. Joseph Cushing, a young printer, had just established a printing office at Amherst, N. H., and was in want of an apprentice. Hearing of young Hill, his situation, capacity and wishes, and supposing him to be likely to suit his purpose, he came to his father's residence to see for himself. Young Isaac was much mortified at being found by his future master, a genteel young man, in his ragged working dress and laboring on the farm, but Mr. Cushing was sensible enough to rely more upon what he had previously heard of him, than upon his casually unprepossessing plight. The bargain was soon made with his father, and in a short time after on the 3d of December 1802, young Hill found himself in company with the elder Mr. Cushing and on his way to a new scene of action.

The first number of the Farmers' Cabinet was issued on the 11 Nov. 1802, consequently but three numbers had been printed before the commencement of Mr. Hill's apprenticeship, or rather his residence with his master, for he was never an indented apprentice. The transition from the

drudgery of a small farm in a thinly settled town to the bustle of a printing office in a pleasant country village, was to Mr. Hill, like an entrance into a new world.

It was in truth an important era in his life ; an event which fixed his future destiny. The change was great ; the theatre on which he had now entered was comparatively a vast one. To an inquiring mind such as he possessed, there was much that was instructive, even in the dull and laborious round of the duties of the youngest apprentice. His opportunities for the acquisition of useful information, were greatly multiplied, and the temptations to which his inexperience rendered him subject, were equally increased.

We can afford only a brief space for a detail of the particulars of this portion of the life of Mr. Hill, of which, much of the information we possess, has been acquired from a conversation lately held with his old master.* Of course what we can advance, may be considered authentic. He was, during this period, remarkable as an excellent, faithful young man. His previously formed habits of perseverance and patient, untiring industry were now confirmed and were exhibited not less in his daily labors, than in his devotion to intellectual improvement. During a seven years' apprenticeship, from his boyhood till he became of age, not an incident occurred to inter-

* Mr. Cushing left Amherst and removed to Baltimore about the time of the expiration of Mr. Hill's apprenticeship. He has for nearly thirty years been in business in that city as a publisher and bookseller, and is now one of its representatives in the legislature of Maryland.

rupt the constant harmony which existed between his master and himself. Both parties concur in an affectionate remembrance of each others good qualities. The one was kind, the other obedient ; the master showed no inclination to insist upon an undue subserviency on the part of the apprentice, and the latter felt in nowise disposed to rebel against reasonable demands. He was conscious that whatever might be his fortunes, he was himself to be their architect, and that he could hope to acquire assistance, patronage and support in no other way than by his own industry, morality and good conduct. He had early been accustomed to assume important responsibilities ; and the severe lessons which necessity had taught him, were not without their fruits. He was remarkable for the firmness of his principles and his power to resist temptation, and no instance is remembered of dereliction on his part from the path of rectitude and from the duty which he owed to his God, his master and his fellows.

Besides a faithful attention to his daily labors, Mr. Hill became, during this period, a hard student. True, his studies and course of reading were very desultory, having no other guide than his own judgment or inclination, but the information which he was enabled to acquire, was precisely of that kind most needed for the practical purposes of life. He became thoroughly conversant with the general routine of business belonging to his profession, to which his long apprenticeship enabled him to add a perfect practical knowledge of the business. He was long an active and efficient member of a Debating Club, established by the young men of the

vicinity, and the Records, during the time he was secretary of the Society, are still in existence. Several of the members of this association have since found their way, in different parts of the world, to comparative distinction and opulence. Judge Swann of Ohio is remembered as one. It is related, that young Hill, when defeated in debate, was inclined to yield to his mortification and needed the encouraging voice of a kind master to relieve him of his despondent feelings. Mr. Cushing really loved him, placed the most implicit confidence in his abilities and integrity, and often entrusted to him the entire care of the office.

Mr. Hill's industrious habits were further displayed in the acquisition of a beautiful, rapid and clerkly style of penmanship—of the rapidity of his handwriting, he has to this day certainly lost nothing. He acquired it wholly by practice, writing in his leisure hours, almost incessantly. Extracts and annotanda derived from his reading, at first afforded employment for his pen. He soon launched out into speculations and essays, both political and miscellaneous, and his first attempts of this description are strongly tinged with the peculiarities of his intellectual character. Although the newspaper which was published at the office where Mr. Hill was employed, was then and always has been since, considered as belonging to the anti-democratic party, and notwithstanding his beloved master was a decided though moderate and consistent federalist, the youthful apprentice remained true to the republican principles in which he had been nurtured and from

which he has never yet swerved. At that early period, he often contributed to the public prints of the day.

As was perfectly natural in one of his character who looked forward to the practice of his profession as the means of earning his daily bread and ensuring a respectable and comfortable subsistence, Mr. Hill had long contemplated the opening of an office and the establishment of a newspaper, whenever the expiration of his apprenticeship should occur. Accordingly, on the fifth of April 1809, the day before he was twenty one years of age, he left his master and came to Concord.

About six months previous,* the American Patriot, a small weekly newspaper, had been established at Concord, and published by Mr. William Hoit, Jr., a practical printer, who still follows his trade and is the senior of his profession in that place. It was considered a republican paper, and as far as it went was consistent in the defence of republican principles and measures ; but it had never been conducted with that efficiency and regularity, without which, under such circumstances, and struggling against such an opposition as that with which it had to contend, it was likely to prove rather an hindrance to the progress of truth than a useful auxiliary in the cause of republicanism.

Mr. Hill was therefore advised by those who knew his principles and felt confidence in his abilities, to purchase the establishment, and com-

* The first No. was issued on the 18 Oct., 1808.

mence the life of the editor of a political newspaper. The idea was grateful to him, the transfer was speedily executed, preparations were made immediately and with his customary alacrity, and, on the 18th of April, two weeks after he became a citizen of Concord, the first number of the publication, which has since become so deeply rooted in the affections of the people of New-Hampshire, was issued from his office. The press on which this and many succeeding numbers were printed, was one of the old *Ramage* kind, and the identical press on which had been struck the first impression of the old Connecticut Courant, forty-five years before; that is, in December, 1764. This press was afterwards purchased and used in printing his religious periodical, by the self-taught brother of the type, Elder Ebenezer Chase of Enfield.

At the period of which we are now speaking, there were only three printing offices in Concord, the business of which, taken together, was very small, and the whole of the work of the Patriot as well as such jobs as happened to be committed to his care, was executed by Mr. Hill himself, his younger brother Walter, who had been his fellow-apprentice and was afterward his partner in business, and a single journeyman. Of course, Mr. Hill, in making the change in his situation by his removal from Amherst to Concord, and his advancement from subordinate to principal, could not have contemplated a life of ease or indulgence, but rather an increase of labor and responsibility. He was a thorough and experienced workman and was by no means inclined to suffer his energies

to rust through want of exercise. Besides the wear and tear of brain, which, as editor of the paper, he was forced to undergo, he took upon himself the oversight of the mechanical part of the operations, performed six times a week the days' work of a journeyman, directed all his papers with his own hand, and when circumstances required, did not hesitate to circulate them at the doors of his village customers. Such industry and such resolution, could not go unrewarded.

The paper, in its early stages was little more than half its present size, and the fourth page was devoted, under the caption of "THE MUSEUM," to poetical, literary and miscellaneous pieces.—The advertising patronage was at first small, but gradually and constantly increased. Mr. Hill thought proper to alter its title from '*American Patriot*' to '*The New-Hampshire Patriot*,' presuming, as he said, that a New-Hampshire Patriot would always be an American Patriot, and to distinguish it from the pseudo-American Patriots which had been started in various parts of the country. The additional title of the "*State Gazette*," was not added till after the lapse of several years.

The first number of the New-Hampshire Patriot bears for its motto, the well known words of James Madison, "Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights of others, it shall be our true glory to cultivate peace by observing justice." Mr. Hill's introductory address in this paper, being brief and the first document he ever, over his own name, presented to the public, is here given entire :

"TO THE PUBLIC.

" Amidst the conflicts of animosity and infuriated zeal—when the unerring genius of improvement is cramped by the persevering advocates of corrupt systems of polity—when the evil spirit of Federalism is stalking up and down our land seeking whom it may devour—when the avowed and secret projects of internal and external enemies are aimed at the vitals of our republic—if becomes every one whose views are American, whose sentiments coincide with those of our fathers of the revolution, to inculcate the sound doctrine of rational liberty, to espouse the cause of his country and his God. Educated in the simplicity of truth, early taught to revere the patriots of '75, and feeling the loss of personal connexions, the fruit of British barbarism at Menotomy and Bunker-Hill, the juvenile years of the Editor have been REPUBLICAN; he has detested tyranny, in whatever specious garb she has arrayed herself;—and he trusts the judgment of maturer age never will sorrow for past political follies, or wilfully persevere in future errors. The axioms of political morality, as expressed by WASHINGTON in his valedictory, by JEFFERSON and MADISON each at the commencement of their presidential career, and so well practised in all their lives, are engraved on the heart of every American, and are precisely those we would adopt. Possessing no motives for personal enmity, having quarrels with no men on the score of private pique, our cause is the cause of our country—our only enemies, those who are seeking its ruin.

" In our views of parties in this country, we

cannot consider the contest as between two political sects having equal claims for patriotism and love of country ; but as between the friends of our own independence, of our government, and our rights—and our enemies, the friends of a foreign nation, which is striving not only to distract our councils and influence the decisions of our government, but to bring us into a close connexion with her own destinies, either virtually or avowedly. In saying this, we do not say that political honesty is exclusively attached to republicans : we believe many federalists have acted from upright intentions ; but theirs *now* is the cause of the Essex Junto, whose leaders, *Pickering* and *Gore*, have averred that “ England has done us no essential injury”—that she is “ disposed to treat with us upon the principles of equity and justice”—assertions in the face and eyes of the most conclusive evidence to the contrary :—Theirs is the cause of Great-Britain, inasmuch as they coincide with and justify her aggressions on the principles of right and justice, on the laws of nature and of nations :—Theirs is the cause of our enemy, because they stigmatize our government in every act whatever its tendency, and because no subterfuge, however mean, is left unessayed to incite to distrust and opposition.

“ In our views of foreign nations, we shall treat alike French injustice and British perfidy. While we consider the latter as far outstripping the former, we cannot but dwell with more emphasis on that power who has ability and inclination to do us much injury, than upon him, who, though he have enough of the last, has comparatively but

little of the first requisite to molest us. We cannot forget the murder of our citizens, the impressment of our seamen, the seizure and confiscation of our property, the many insults and menaces on our national flag, &c. &c.

“That our paper may not be identified with some whom we could not hold by the hand as brothers, and to discriminate from the many heterodox and spurious PATRIOTS that may spring up, we have thought proper to substitute in our title the word *New-Hampshire* for *American*; presuming that a *New-Hampshire Patriot* always will mean an *American Patriot*, though every *American* may not belong to *New-Hampshire*.

“Literary amateurs are solicited to “cull the flowers of various science,” and, entwined with the thread of genius, form a “bouquet of sweets” adapted to the tastes of our many scientific readers. The MUSEUM, when more important considerations do not prevent, will be exclusively devoted to literary, scientific and agricultural objects. The smiles of the NINE are invoked. Our friends, who have promised to aid in the department of the Muses, will not forget us in the early stages of imbecility.

“It is our intention, as soon as the necessary implements can be obtained from Philadelphia, to enlarge our paper to a size equal to that of any paper in the State. It is hoped the patronage of an indulgent public will be commensurate with our exertions. With our republican friends rests the decision, whether the PATRIOT shall flourish with ample support, or shall never advance beyond the age of puberty. The utility of a public newspa-

per, when properly conducted, is too well known to be improperly appreciated. To make support efficient, it is necessary that our patronage should be something more than merely *nominal*—that when a person subscribes, he should always calculate on sometime paying.

“ISAAC HILL.”

The New-Hampshire Patriot was commenced under very discouraging circumstances. It was shortly after the beginning of Mr. Madison's administration, and in the trying period of the Embargo. The whole country was involved in distress, doubt and anxiety, and the commercial portion were peculiarly harrassed, troubled and excited. All confidence was lost, the activity of trade was destroyed, and the measures which the administration were pursuing, to avoid, if possible, a war, and open the eyes of the British Government to a true sense of the relative situation of the two parties and their rights according to the law of nations, were denounced by the federal party as pusillanimous and ineffectual, and cowardice and irresolution were declared characteristic of the timid and wavering policy of Madison and his supporters. In New-England, particularly, this unfortunate situation of affairs rendered the administration unpopular. Every attempt which had been made to avoid the evils of war and make the enemy feel the effects of our displeasure by commercial restrictions, seemed to have operated, with fatal effect, upon the prosperity of our own citizens.

In New-Hampshire, perhaps full as much as

in her sister State of Massachusetts, to advocate such a cause might well have seemed a discouraging task. At the election for members of congress in the preceding autumn, the federal party had carried their ticket by 1500 majority. In the spring of 1809, that inflexible patriot and upright man, John Langdon, who was identified, as he always had been, with the republican party, and against whom a temporary feeling had been excited on account of certain judicial appointments, was superceded in the gubernatorial chair, by Jeremiah Smith, though by a small majority.— Judge Smith was, it is well known, a leader in the ultra New-England federal party. He was to New-Hampshire, what Strong and Gore and Pickering were to Massachusetts, and Hillhouse and Goodrich to Connecticut. In the Presidential election of 1808, he was one of the electors and gave his vote for Charles C. Pinckney, in opposition to the republican candidate. He was a man of talents and influence, and his politics were well understood prior to his election by the people. That he was, guided by their present feelings, their fair choice, could not then be doubted.

But Mr. Hill was in nowise daunted at this imposing array of influence, learning and numerical strength. He immediately commenced his efforts for enlightening the public mind. At the session of the legislature in June, Gov. Smith delivered his inaugural or annual speech, at the commencement of which he professed to consider himself the 'representative of all the people,' but before the close, displayed uncovered the cloven

foot, entered diffusely into partizan arguments and appeals, and made rather indecorous allusions to some of the executive appointments of his immediate predecessor in office. The legislature, on their part, were not backward in demonstrations of the same spirit. Little business was done other than a series of party measures and the introduction and adoption of a violent answer to the speech of his Excellency. Mr. Hill, with a bold and masterly hand, attacked their measures in a series of powerful articles, exposed their sophistry, put to flight their arguments and proved himself a tower of strength in the cause of truth. To his efforts, was it owing, almost wholly, that our beloved State did not at that time become as deeply enthralled in the bands of slavery as her southern neighbor.

In proportion as the power of his pen began to manifest itself, did the vituperation and abuse which was unsparingly poured upon his head, increase. The vials of wrath were opened upon him, and those who had at first ridiculed the beardless boy, became convinced that the young David was no contemptible antagonist. 'We have hit them for they flutter,' was the remark of Mr. Hill. Perhaps in the whole course of his political life, never were more falsehoods circulated or denunciations poured upon him, than during the first four years after the establishment of the Patriot. A paper in Concord was particularly violent and abusive in its language, and the successor of his old master, in the editorial care of the Amherst Cabinet, was little behind it. It was said that Governor Langdon was the virtual own-

er of the Patriot; and the tale was persisted in, in spite of the assertion of Mr. H. to the contrary. Perhaps not the most ridiculous of the objections made against his character, was the astounding fact that some astute antiquary had discovered, that Mr. Hill was, bona fide, a lineal descendant, on both sides, from the first witches who were hung at Salem! This, perhaps, accounted, in their opinion, for the species of sorcery by which he seemed to acquire the affections of the people—for Mr. Hill was much encouraged by the support and such substantial support too, as printers love, of his republican friends. Before the end of the year, the size of the Patriot was very considerably enlarged, and in August, its patronage was such as to call forth the following acknowledgement from the editor :

“ It has never been our wish to bluster about the number of our subscribers—about our twenty, or thirty, or forty new names each month, or the prospect of increasing patronage ; but, for the information of certain gentlemen (particularly in the *south*) who take great pains to belittle our establishment, and to impress a belief that it is not generally patronized by the republicans, we would state that the number of *actual* subscribers to the *N. H. Patriot* exceeds EIGHTEEN HUNDRED—three or four hundred more, we presume to say, than the books of any (avowed or *impartial*) federal paper in the State can exhibit. To convince the editor of the correct ground he stands on, he has the satisfaction to witness a continued augmentation of his list, and among his names those the most respectable in the State : an average in-

crease of one hundred each month since he commenced, has crowned his labors.

“The inexperience and youth of the editor of the *PATRIOT* claim indulgence and charity from the more mature in age and judgment. Though he shall always advocate the immutable principles ingrafted into our constitutions and the rights of man, he will never wilfully step aside from the path of rectitude—never deviate from the truth to exculpate the unjust—convinced that the truth alone is sufficient to defend the principles which are the motives of action to republicans. Assailed, as our republican institutions are, by corruption and foreign intrigue, by the advocates and palliators of foreign injustice and wickedness—it were criminal not to advocate our rights with ardor and a degree of warmth. As in the times of our revolutionary struggle, those who will not oppose British aggressions and tyranny, who are even indifferent whether we should be manacled with the chains of slavery, or should be free and independent—are to be counted as among our enemies. Every republican at this time will not hesitate to express his sentiments freely; and honest federalists, we are happy to observe, do not restrain their indignation at British perfidy.”

This, it is to be remembered, was immediately after the renewal of the non-intercourse act, and at the period when the whole community were convulsed by that worst of evils, a distrust of their currency, and when the failures of Banking corporations were producing real distress. The obloquy of all this unfortunate state of things was thrown upon the supporters of the administration,

and it is a fact, that at this gloomy period, the Patriot was the only newspaper in the State whose editor was not a federalist. Very many of their prints, then as now, made professions of impartiality, but in these pretended neutrals, Mr. Hill found his most insidious and effective enemies ; and against them, he in a great measure directed his efforts.

As the spring election of 1810 approached, the exertions of both parties were redoubled. The circulation of the Patriot was illegally obstructed—the republican candidate for Governor, the patriot Langdon, was called by every base term that the malice of despair could suggest—he was declared to be in favor of banking monopolies, to be in his dotage, dead in law, and ineligible to office. Gov. Smith was the candidate of the anti-republican party. The battle was gallantly fought and nobly won—it resulted in a complete republican triumph in every branch of the government. It is interesting as well as useful to review these past scenes of party strife and political history, nor indeed would the life of Mr. Hill be complete without a relation of these events, with which he is so intimately identified.

His paper soon became prominent in the defence of republican principles, and the sarcasm of his pen a scorpion to those who deserved its infliction. Even grave members of congress considered him worthy their notice, and his manly, independent course procured for him, this year, a personal assault ;—that last resort of a coward writhing under a sense of his own shame. In April, 1810, he was attacked and struck in the

streets of Concord, by a citizen of the town and a member of the legal profession. An attempt was made by some of the federal presses, to exult at this disgraceful event as a species of honorable triumph, but this dishonorable spirit was soon checked by the universal reprobation of all lovers of peace and good order. The application of Lynch law is not consonant with the spirit and disposition of the puritan blood of New-England.

The malignity of the opposition, soured by recent defeat where they had thought themselves secure of victory and attributing the overthrow of their darling hopes and cherished projects principally to the unwearied efforts of Mr. Hill, aided by the personal popularity of Langdon, can hardly be appreciated, in its length and breadth, by the young men of the present day. They will with difficulty believe what is nevertheless a mournful fact, that that revolutionary patriot and venerable chief magistrate was publicly burnt in effigy and his soul solemnly consigned to the care of the fallen angels, and that the editor of the Patriot was traduced and abused even for his personal defects.*

One great secret of Mr. Hill's influence and success in his vocation, was the moderate estimate which he was always inclined to make, of the result of future elections. He preferred that his

* Take the following as an instance of the *spirit* that prompted their *actions* :—"If Thomas Jefferson had a thousand lives, he deserves to be hung a thousand different times as high as Haman."—*Concord Gaz.* 5 Feb. 1811.

readers should be favorably disappointed than that by his representations, they should be induced to expect more than the result would actually justify. Hence, was produced a mutual confidence which tended to the advantage of both parties.—It would be well if editors would more generally attend to the operation of this principle. In September of this year, the election took place for representatives in congress. Prior to the election, twelve newspapers were actively employed in the canvass, and these were distributed into every nook and corner of the State. Of these twelve, *ten* were federal,—democrats have always been remiss in not taking pattern from the enemy in this respect. The power of truth unassisted is not always sufficient to counterbalance numbers, influence and momentary impulse.—Yet, notwithstanding the unparalleled exertions of the opposition and the discouraging situation of public affairs, two republicans were elected, and of the remainder of the candidates, there was no choice.

In 1811, the March election resulted in a signal triumph of the democratic party. It was placed, too, distinctly on the ground of peace or war. Mr. Hill, believing further negotiation useless, and exasperated, in common with every good citizen, at the delays and prevarications of the British government, had long advocated a resort to arms as the only mean of preserving national honor. In April, he took his brother Walter Russell as his partner in business, and in an editorial address to his patrons, acknowledged with gratitude the unusual degree of public support

he had received, and the indulgence which had been manifested for the unintentional errors of youth and inexperience. During this period, he commenced, for the public benefit, a periodical publication of the debates in congress, on the interesting subjects which then engrossed the attention of the National legislature.

In 1812, Gov. Langdon declined a re-nomination and William Plumer was supported by the republican party as his successor in office. This gentleman had been a federalist; but like Adams, Wolcott, Gray, Pinkney and other patriotic men, in the time of his country's peril, came manfully to her relief and of course found himself opposed by his former friends. The apostate traitor, the crafty lawyer was held up in bold relief in contrast with their candidate, John Taylor Gilman; a man who had been long a faithful servant of the people, and who, in his old age, however fallen, still could lay claim to the gratitude of the public for his long and patriotic services. These circumstances operated to Mr. Plumer's disadvantage, and he was accordingly left, by an exceedingly close vote, in the minority. The state of parties was, however, clearly manifested by a return of a republican majority in both branches of the legislature, and there having been no choice between Plumer and Gilman, the latter having received a plurality only, the former was elected Governor in a legislative convention.

Mr. Hill, during this violent party contest at home, at the time the new embargo law,* the

*V. Appendix A.

hostile preparations which the state of the times demanded, and the disclosure of John Henry's traitorous correspondence, made every patriotic man tremble at the sense of his country's danger, wavered not from the cause, which, from his very infancy, he had been pledged to support. At length the long-expected DECLARATION arrived. Instead of a neutral, the country assumed the aspect of a beligerent, and, as might have been expected, loud were the denunciations of the British party. The inconsistency which they had displayed by such a course ;—the very individuals who had reproached the government for pusillanimity and boasting that it could not be *kicked* into a war, now, in the loudest terms deprecating the measure which they had recommended,—and the motives of such conduct, were set forth by Mr. Hill as follows :

“It were an endless task to notice all the absurdities and inconsistencies of the party which is making at the present moment so loud a hue and cry for peace. “PEACE, PEACE, PEACE,” continually sounds in our ears, as if there were a metrical charm in the word itself that would at once batter down the administration.

“Six months ago these loud declaimers for peace called for more energy in the government—they accused the administration of cowardice—Mr. Quincy in Congress said the American government “could not be kicked into a war.” The same men told us that if Congress would declare war against Great-Britain they would support it—but they never would support a “weak and pusillanimous administration.”

"If the clamors of the federal faction were calculated to procure a speedy and honorable peace, they would be entitled to some praise. But only look at the thing. Not a man of the federal party that cannot be made to acknowledge we have cause of war against Great-Britain. Now if we have cause, why all this noise about it—why does this faction "cry aloud and spare not" against the government for having declared war? For the same reason that they opposed the Embargo—for the same reason that they opposed the non-importation and non-intercourse acts—to *invite further aggressions and encourage our enemy*. If they wished for an honorable peace, the government has declared war to obtain it—and why not support the government? But no—they do not wish for honorable peace—that would make our nation prosperous and happy, and make all classes of people contented with their own government: hence the loud cry of the British faction for an inglorious peace, a peace with submission and degradation: the leaders of the British party know, if we obtain an honorable peace, their hopes are gone forever; and hence they wish to protract our difficulties by charging them to the government, and impressing our enemies with a belief that they may do with us as they list, because we are a divided people.

"The federalists say our government wishes for the destruction of commerce; and to prove this point they adduce the embargo, non-intercourse and war. These they say were intended for the annihilation of commerce. We aver that that they were intended to foster and protect com

merce; and had it not been for the treasonable opposition of the federal party, we have not a doubt that our commercial, neutral rights would long ago have been respected by the British.—But the violence of that opposition induced the Tenth Congress to abandon the Embargo.—Non-intercourse was substituted: this has produced a powerful effect on Great-Britain—it has produced a partial change in her Ministry, and a *conditional* revocation of her piratical Orders in Council. Non-intercourse has been followed by war, and we have nothing to fear but the unprincipled, the mad opposition of a few incendiaries who are protected in the bosom of our mild government, that our commerce will be protected on the ocean. If we can calculate any thing from the effect our restrictive measures have produced on Great-Britain, we may calculate with certainty that the magnanimous stand taken by our government will produce all the effects anticipated. We want nothing more than justice—and justice we will have, if it is not prevented by the clamors of a faction whose aim it is to stab the vitals of our liberty, and make us forever subservient to Great-Britain. Our government is the friend of commerce: to defend commerce against the piracy of Great-Britain it has declared war. Those who oppose this war oppose commerce, and are its only enemies.”

At the present time, both of the great political parties claim, through their organs, to have supported this war. But however universally does odium attach to the opponents of a war, now so generally believed to have been just and patriotic,

it is certain that at that period, the commencement of hostilities was attended with a momentary panic and revulsion in public feelings. The federalists took advantage of this inauspicious state of things. An election for members of congress and for electors of President was to take place in the autumn, and the important results that depended upon its decision justified recourse to extraordinary measures. They became all things to all men to effect their ends, and their efforts were attended with but too great success. They carried their ticket by a small majority, and sent to Congress a man who has since become the strong hold of New-England whiggism, but who was as noted then for political management as he has since been on a larger scale.

The more violent of the federal leaders seem to have acted throughout this whole war, on the determination

‘ To rule the nation if they could,
But see it damned ere others should.’

Early in the spring of 1813, they commenced their measures to preserve the ascendancy they had gained. Their thorough organization by means of the Benevolent Societies, which sustained a continued correspondence and inter-communication and thus effected a regular and simultaneous system of operations, was to them of the greatest advantage. The result of their endeavors was the election of their candidate Gilman, by a majority much less than that of the previous autumn. The editor of the Patriot, always moderate

in his assertions, had not anticipated the triumph of his candidate, although he had been unremitting in his exertions to bring about so desirable an event. His paper had been, in the mean time, quietly gaining in the affections of his republican friends. In his yearly address, he states that his subscribers exceeded three thousand in number, and declares his confidence that no paper in that part of the country, was so generally patronized.

The meeting of the Legislature this year will long be remembered by our citizens, for the violence of its measures, and the confusion which they caused throughout the community. The Governor made a speech full of the most declamatory matter against the Executive of the Union, and the majority of the legislature were not behind his Excellency in their denunciatory responses.— By a series of successful manœuvres and artful management, a quondam, time-serving republican having first been elected and persuaded to decline, a violent federalist, one of the exiled trio that now grace the city of Boston, was sent to the United States Senate. But the most alarming measure was the attack made upon the Judiciary. To get rid of the Judges that then held their places upon the Supreme bench, constitutional scruples were overcome, the courts were entirely remodelled, the old ones abolished, Ex-Governor Smith receiving the appointment of Chief Justice, and the late Chief Justice Livermore, made one of his associates.— The Judges, who found themselves thus uncere- moniously dismissed from the service of the public, declared the law to be unconstitutional and held their Court in the usual manner. In several

counties, where there were republican Sheriffs and Clerks, these officers obeyed the old court as the only constitutional and supreme tribunal; in others, the new court was recognized; and in some, both sets of Judges attempted to occupy the same room at the same time. Inflammatory appeals were made to the public by both parties; the course of justice was stayed and universal confusion prevailed in the community. Governor Gilman thought it necessary to convene an extra session of the legislature; the refractory sheriffs were removed, and obedience to the authority of the new Judiciary enforced by legislative enactments. During all these party measures, intestine dissensions and national concerns, the pen of Mr. Hill was busily employed. The columns of his paper were filled with judicious and powerfully-written articles upon the various subjects that then agitated the public mind. He was particularly prominent in the bold stand which he took against the usurpations of the legislature and the violence of the Executive, and drew upon himself the full measure of their reprobation.

In 1814, primary meetings were held in the respective counties and districts, by both parties, and active measures taken for the ensuing campaign. Mr. Hill was almost always called upon to act as Secretary of those conventions held in his own district. The same candidates were put in nomination, and the same result ensued. The federal candidate had a majority of about eight hundred. Had a fair representation of the views of all the citizens been made, there is not a doubt that the republicans would have proved victorious.

For at this very time, it is to be remembered, that there were absent from the State, several thousands of her brave sons fighting the battles of their country; all of whom, without a doubt, would have gone, heart and hand for the cause of democracy at the ballot-box as well as in the field.

It was in the early part of this year, that Daniel Webster, one of the representatives from New-Hampshire, made his celebrated, his eloquent speech, upon the Army Bill, on the floors of Congress. It abounded in violent denunciations of the Administration and its measures, and ridiculed the efforts and operations of our patriotic soldiery. It declared the war to be wicked and inglorious; in 1806, the same man had said, in a public oration, that 'America had sufficient cause for war with Great Britain.' This speech, which it has been thought prudent to omit in the late collection of Mr. Webster's works, Mr. Hill attacked in his paper, and from the weak arguments and unpatriotic sentiments which it contained, extended his remarks to the character of its author.— This was the first bitter pill of opposition that Mr. Webster was destined to receive in his own State, and to which, he so pathetically alluded on a late public occasion.

At the meeting of the legislature in June 1814, it was discovered that three out of the five counsellors were returned republican. It became absolutely necessary to pick a flaw somewhere, in order to have the Executive branch of the government, as well as the legislative, in federal hands. An illegality was supposed to have been discovered in the proceedings of the Portsmouth

town meeting. Daniel Webster was brought before the legislature to demand, on this ground, the rejection of the votes, and the consequent expulsion from the council-board, of the venerable Elijah Hall, the coadjutor of Langdon and the companion-in-arms of Paul Jones. The votes were rejected, but when the election of a counsellor to fill the vacancy came before a convention of both houses, the consciences of a few would not allow them to assist in defeating the express will of the people, and Mr. Hall was legally elected by a majority of two votes. This result saved New-Hampshire from the disgrace of a participation in the Convention at Hartford, in December. It is well understood that Governor Gilman urged the appointment or election of delegates to represent the State in that convention, and that it was only by the firmness of his republican counsellors, that the measure was defeated.

It may be said that these details have nothing to do with the life of Mr. Hill. Yet, that gentleman's biography can hardly be accounted perfect, unless it contains some account of those measures of public moment, the consideration of which engrossed his whole attention, and employed all his time ; which his efforts often materially affected. We pass on.

Many of the clergy had injudiciously taken a prominent part in the political disputes of the day ; had proclaimed the war from the pulpit as unjust, unholy, favoring the cause of Anti-Christ. These denunciations were received by many as sacred, inspired ; and religious enthusiasm was thus made to combine with party machinery and the

basest ambition, in clogging the wheels of government and procuring disgrace to the country. The tone of the federal papers, too, at the close of 1814, had reached the height of treasonable violence.* Against all these powerful influences, was Mr. Hill, in his own State almost alone, called upon to struggle, and was a stone left unturned or an argument unanswered, his readers were dissatisfied. A series of Essays, over the signature of A Layman, and entitled 'An Address to the Clergy, on their opposition to the Government,' understood to have been from the pen of Gov.

* The reader may be surprised to learn that such sentiments as the following received the support and approbation of a large and powerful party in New-England :

"My plan is to withhold our money and make a separate peace."—*Daily Advertiser*.

"In times past, there have been much talk and loud menaces, but little action by the adherents of reform in New-England. Now, we shall hear little said and much done.—The plan is, to frame a new government. The new constitution is to go into operation as soon as two or three States shall have adopted it."—*Federal Republican*.

"New-England is unanimous and we announce our irrevocable decree, that the tyrannical oppression of those, who at present usurp the powers of the constitution, is beyond endurance and we will resist it."—*Boston Centinel*.

"We will begin the work of New-England independence."—*Ibid*.

The above are only specimens, selected only for their brevity. Long and elaborate essays were written in defence of a separation of the States. Many of the published Washington Benevolent orations were couched in still bolder language. Against such a desperate faction, did Mr. Hill find himself arrayed.

Plumer, appeared in the Patriot, and were afterwards collected in a more durable form. It was Mr. Hill's peculiar province to silence the objections of cavillers, to expose the weakness of argument where any argument was attempted; to lay open the concealed malignity and treason of federal papers, and to encourage the drooping spirits of his friends. A venerable republican citizen of Concord, lately deceased, has been heard to declare, that Mr. Hill's paper was, in this war, of more essential service to the country than the combined efforts of a thousand soldiers. And, without doubt, the influence which he exerted upon public opinion, particularly in a State, where the opposition were so active, was of incalculably greater importance in strengthening the sinews of government, than a mere array of physical, military strength.

In 1815, a society was formed in this State, under the name of 'The Friends of Union,' the object of which was chiefly to counteract in some measure, the mischievous influence of the secret associations which disgraced the names of Washington and Benevolence. Mr. Hill was chosen its secretary. This year is distinguished by the return of peace. Chittenden of Vermont, Strong in Massachusetts, and Jones in Rhode Island, ashamed of the part they had acted in thwarting the wishes and nullifying the efforts of the general government, or fearing the reprobation of the people, thought it prudent voluntarily to decline being considered as candidates for the gubernatorial chair at the ensuing election. In our own State, Mr. Gilman, probably actuated by similar motives,

was wise enough to follow their example. Great difficulty was experienced by the federalists in bringing forward a suitable person for his successor. Dr. Goddard, a recreant democrat, was at first nominated, but he declined; Judge Farrar was then named as a candidate, but was afterwards withdrawn, and finally, after many fruitless attempts, James Sheafe of Portsmouth was fixed upon as the last hope of the party. But in vain; the sun of their ascendancy was eclipsed; the dynasty was overthrown, and has never since succeeded in establishing itself upon the downfall of democracy in New-Hampshire. Plumer, the republican candidate, was known to be a man of genuine talents. Sheafe possessed no such recommendation, and it operated much to the disadvantage of his friends, whose politics were supposed to be identified with those of their candidate, that the original document was lodged in the office of the Secretary of State, which proved that he had been obliged to give bonds, during the Revolution, to save himself from imprisonment as a tory. Mr. Hill published this instrument and used the most strenuous exertions to effect a revolution in the politics of the State.—His efforts were, at the succeeding spring election, crowned with complete success.

In August 1815, Mr. Hill's name appeared once more upon his paper, as sole editor and publisher, the partnership which had heretofore existed between him and his brother, having been dissolved.

It was in this year that the Dartmouth College controversy commenced. It was continued, as

all will remember, with the greatest acrimony: the most intense interest was excited throughout this State and Vermont at every scrap of fact or argument on the subject; men who had never before been found among the advocates or opponents of the interests of literature, now took sides and zealously prepared for the contest. It is by no means our intention to enter into the details of this unfortunate controversy. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Hill's paper took the lead in the opposition to the proceedings of the old trustees and more than one half of its editorial matter from this time to the year 1819, relates to this, then the all-absorbing topic. It is known that the grounds which Mr. Hill had taken, were generally approved; that the legislature of New-Hampshire remodelled the institution so as to make it and its officers conform to the general opinion; that the college appealed to the Superior Court by whom it was decided that the act of the legislature was constitutional; and that a further appeal was thence made to the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States, where this decision was promptly reversed, the law remodelling the college, declared unconstitutional and the institution again established *in statu quo ante bellum*.

It fell to Mr. Hill's lot to make severe animadversions upon the conduct and speeches of Daniel Webster, the chief champion of the college, and it is owing in the main to his subsequent exertions that the real political character of that great orator, is so well understood in his native State.

In the spring of 1816, as has been before men-

tioned, a complete revolution was effected in the politics of the State. The election was put mainly on the ground of religious freedom. A species of sectarian intolerance, certainly not the native growth of the soil, had nevertheless taken deep root in New-Hampshire. It was, to some extent, fostered by law ; every citizen, whatever might be his own tenets, being obliged to furnish his quota towards the support of some religious teacher in the town where he resided. The tendency of such a law was to legalize many acts of individual injustice, and to throw great power into the hands of the predominant sect ; and the conduct of many clergymen, during and subsequent to the war, seemed to show that they felt fully the political importance which the law had given them, and which did not naturally attach to their ministerial functions. In several instances these worthy preachers of the gospel actually prosecuted for their *tythes* with an overbearing insolence that any Irish Catholic priest might have envied, and recovered heavy sums in the courts of law. The grievance at length became intolerable. Mr. Hill, as might naturally have been inferred from his previous life, was foremost in his denunciations of such a system, than which nothing can be imagined more repugnant to the spirit of our institutions. His opposition to the old trustees of Dartmouth College, might, in some degree, have been prompted by the supposition that they, as well as the federal party generally, were active in sustaining this odious species of intolerance.

Gov. Plumer received a greater vote than had

ever before been cast in the State for any one candidate. In the senate there were eight republicans and in the other branches of the government, a proportionable preponderancy. In the Governor's Message, a reduction of salaries, the passage of a Toleration law, the revocation of the charter of Dartmouth College,² and a remodelling of the Judiciary, were the principal measures recommended to the action of the legislature. They were all supported by Mr. Hill.— But the consideration of the Toleration law was, by some management, procured to be postponed. Dartmouth *University* was founded on the ruins of the old college, and Gov. Gilman's Judiciary exchanged for a new system. Of the appointments made under the last-named [act, 'a large minority belonged to the opposite party; evincing a candor and moderation, the more to be recommended, because so rarely met with in a party, which, after a long struggle, at last finds itself in an overwhelming majority.

In the fall of 1816, came on the most important election, in which freemen can be called to participate. It was to select a ticket of electors for the choice of President and Vice President. The election of members to congress was fixed at the same time. The federalists had never entirely lost all hopes of regaining their former ascendancy. They saw the present to be a favorable opportunity, and their efforts equalled those of former times. Each party proposed its strongest men, and every editor entered zealously into the contest. The ticket which the republicans,

with Mr. Hill at their head, supported, prevailed.

The session of the legislature which ensued, will long be remembered for its violence. The minority was large and included in its number, several of the most talented men in the State. Every thing that could be devised, was carried into effect to thwart the wishes and defeat the favorite measures of the republicans. Mr. Hill's pen was unusually active in exposing their practices, occasionally mingling with his searching arguments, a little pleasantry, ridicule or satire. By such a course, by his activity and peculiar talent in telling unpleasant truths, he drew upon himself the concentrated hatred of the federal members. Their petty malignity finally found a vent.

In the report of the proceedings of the legislature, published weekly in the Patriot, there appeared a version of the remarks of a certain member on the federal side of the house, who never spoke without exciting laughter at the novel style of elocution and oratory adopted, which report, from its very resemblance to the original speech,* was calculated to do no great credit to the speaker. In caucus assembled, it was agreed that a favorable opportunity was now presented to wreak their spite upon poor Hill. It

* The speech was upon the subject of the location of the State House, and it may amuse the people of Concord to learn that the speaker was very much troubled lest, if the present beautiful site were determined upon, the frogs would pop up their heads through the cracks, and, by their croaking, disturb the deliberations of legislative wisdom.

was towards the close of the session and a bare republican majority remained. Accordingly, the aggrieved individual, Col. P. of Jaffrey, introduced the following resolution :

“Whereas the editor of the New-Hampshire Patriot, printed in this town, has insulted members of this house, by mutilating their observations made herein, and in other instances, has basely impeached the motives of honorable members of this house in the discharge of their official duties, and considering that this abuse is eminently different from that liberty of the press which is the glory of the American people ; Therefore resolved, That the House of Representatives highly disapprove of the conduct of Isaac Hill, in mis-stating, in publications in his paper, the observations and impeaching the motives of members of this house, while in the discharge of their official duties.”

The introduction of this resolution was the signal for a full attack ; galled at the defeat of all their darling projects, there was now offered a glorious opportunity to revenge themselves upon the man whom they rightly supposed to be a chief instrument in their defeat, and whom they knew had it not in his power to rise and refute their slanders. Lawyer after lawyer and orator after orator poured out their indignation in tones expressive of their abhorrence, and depicted in glowing colors, the extent of the insults which they had received from this abandoned miscreant. It might have been supposed that the hall of legislation had been suddenly transformed into a nursery of billingsgate. It was in vain urged upon their consideration by the friends of Mr. Hill, that other papers had taken much greater

liberties with their dignity than had Mr. Hill presumed to do, and that one in particular, the opposition Gazette, published in the place had been guilty of much more flagrant violations of decorum, in speaking of all three branches of the government. It was all to no purpose ; ' the venerable member from Jaffrey had been grossly abused ! ' A motion was then made to substitute for the resolution, a general censure upon the license of the press. This also was negatived ; it was only this particular case that was held in view. The resolution was then committed.

It was the wish and intention of the few individuals engaged in getting up this extraordinary impeachment, to hurry it through the house without delay. The longer time was allowed to the members to reflect on the absurdity of the extrajudicial act, in which they were called upon to participate, the stronger might well be their apprehensions of the safety of their resolution.— Mr. Hill, hearing of the affair, and perceiving how easily he could render its prime movers ashamed of such an undignified prosecution by obliging them to specify and go on with their charges, on the following morning, sent in a memorial disavowing all such dishonorable intentions as had been imputed to him and praying that, as the Bill of Rights guarantees the liberty of the press and, to every citizen, the right of defence against all charges brought against him, the accusations against him should be clearly set forth, and he be admitted on the floor of the house, to answer and refute them. This petition was referred to the same committee, who granted leave.

A committee was then appointed to specify the charges and point out the obnoxious passages, which it had been moved to condemn, unread; Col. P. of Jaffrey was the chairman. The result of the long protracted heavings of this mountain, as made known by the report of this committee, of which a large majority had been in favor of the resolution, was truly trivial. Nothing was heard in it, of the mutilation of the observations of the honorable members, which had been so bitterly complained of in the original resolution, nor of the 'outrageous insult offered to the dignity of the venerable member from Jaffrey.' All this, the fruitful source of the declamation of the preceding day, had evaporated; and a single paragraph in the New-Hampshire Patriot was introduced to the attention of the house, in which the editor, in vindicating the executive from the attacks of a committee of the house, had indulged in some severe remarks on the conduct and report of said committee.

Such an acknowledgment of the folly, the puerility of the whole proceeding, as was made by such a report, astonished all not in the secret, both in and out of the house. The accused, however, appeared upon the floor with his counsel, and proceeded, with as much gravity as any state criminal, to refute the heinous charges contained in the report of the committee. His defence was, that the offence was not cognizable by the house; that it was merely an expression of individual opinion; that the article alleged by the committee to be an insult to the house, was in fact a defence of one branch of the government; that

few editors had been so sparing in their animadversions ; and that the specification made by the committee was novel and unexpected ;—that before, the whole burden of the song was the insult offered to the venerable member from Jaffrey, and that he had hence come prepared to prove that no injustice had been committed against that member, and that his speech as reported was in fact better than the speech as spoken. Counsel was heard on these points, and witnesses examined, till the federalists became heartily disgusted with a scene which redounded so little to their own honor.—The following resolution was then offered :

‘ In House of Representatives, Dec. 26, 1816 ; Resolved, that the House of Representatives consider the accusation preferred to the house against Isaac Hill, editor of the N. H. Patriot, is not an offence cognizable by the legislature, and that the house of representatives deem it improper to express their disapprobation of said editor, individually, inasmuch as the editors of other newspapers have published equally as severe strictures and censure on the conduct and proceedings of the different branches of government.’

This resolution, after a protracted debate, prevailed by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-three. A gentleman in the minority, who had made himself peculiarly prominent in his denunciations of the accused editor, then arose and, ‘in consideration of his regard for the character of Mr. Hill,’ moved that the entire proceedings should be expunged from the Journal. To this, Mr. Hill’s friends demurred ; they were perfectly willing to suffer the records to bear witness to the acts of legislative wisdom in which, through the exertions

of disappointed malice, two entire days had been passed ; and it was accordingly determined that the whole proceedings, Mr. Hill's memorial and all, should remain on the Journals, a monument of federal ingenuity and talent. Those who had been concerned in this attempt to pass censorship upon a free press, had certainly no cause to congratulate themselves upon the farcical proceeding.

We have detailed it somewhat at length, for the amusement of our readers. The attempt thus to bring odium upon a simple printer, was generally reprobated and ridiculed.

In 1817 and 1818, the republicans, although opposed by a regular array of candidates, were uniformly in the majority. Gov. Plumer had become very popular with his fellow-citizens, and no small regret was felt at his determination to retire from public life. He declined a re-nomination to the office of Governor in 1818. It, of course, became necessary to fix upon some other candidate. Samuel Bell, who had for many years, acted with the republicans, and who had not then apostatized from the democratic party, was favorably known as a correct legislator and upright judge. He was therefore selected as the rallying point of the party, was zealously supported by Mr. Hill, and was chosen by a large majority, in the spring of 1819.

Mr. Hill had, in January of this year, formed a connection in business with Mr. J. B. Moore, his brother-in-law, who also co-operated with him in the editorial conduct of the paper.

At the session of the legislature in June, Mr. Hill was gratified by a public testimonial of the

sense in which his republican friends viewed his continued exertions. He was elected to the responsible office of Clerk of the Senate, and served that body as such, throughout the session.

Gov. Bell, in his annual message, urged particularly upon the attention of the legislature, the passage of the Toleration law; a subject which had been before agitated, but which had been suffered to remain for a considerable period untouched. His views were ably seconded by the exertions of the late Hon. Thomas Whipple, who framed the law under which every religious sect now enjoys an equal opportunity of sustaining itself against foreign encroachment. To us, who have so long experienced the beneficial effects of this law upon all denominations, and which few would now, however rigid their doctrines of exclusive prerogative, wish abolished, it is almost incredible that men of sense and information should have anticipated from its passage the most mournful results. It was declared that the enactment of the bill proposed, would give a death blow to all vital religion, morality and good order; and anathemas were hurled against it from the pulpit, as though it were equivalent to an order to burn all the bibles and destroy all the churches in the State. Mr. Hill did great service by the zeal with which he supported the proposed measure; and this generation may congratulate themselves that, although the opposition seemed almost invincible, talent, eloquence and perseverance finally gained the victory over timidity, bigotry and superstition.

In 1820, at the republican convention in sena-

torial district No. 4., Mr. Hill was nominated for the office of senator in the State legislature, and a resolution was passed to give him the united support of the democracy of the district. Mr. Hill now found himself placed in the delicate situation of a candidate for an elective office, opposed with the whole strength of his political enemies, and at the same time, being the only republican editor in the district. There was danger lest he should violate the rules of propriety on the one hand by opening his columns to the admission of gross flattery or unjustifiable abuse, and on the other hand, that by an affectation of sensitiveness, he should place himself in a situation where he would be exposed without defence to the attacks of opposing editors. His conduct in this dilemma was an instance of his prudence and the soundness of his judgment. By avoiding both extremes, he exhibited the character of a man conscious of rectitude of intention, and indifferent to the attacks of malice or meanness.—The opposition had been thoroughly drilled, but his friends were firm, and he was elected by a large majority. In the fall of this year, republican electors and members of congress were chosen by the people of the State. Indeed, the federal party made little display of opposition, except in a few local elections. In the fall session, the second of his legislative experience, Mr. Hill introduced a resolution to instruct our members in congress to support a reduction of their salaries to a per diem allowance of six dollars. He also made speeches in favor of remodelling the judiciary, and introduced and supported a bill, creat-

ing a new county with limits similar to those of the present county of Merrimack. This last bill was postponed.

In 1821, the freemen of the State were called upon to give, at their primary elections, an expression of their opinion upon the question of the amendment of the Constitution. Mr. Hill, at the same time that he professed the greatest admiration for that venerable instrument, was not inclined to believe that it was entirely free from blemishes, or that mankind, in the lapse of half a century, had not improved in political science.— He wanted to provide for a better balanced legislature ; wished the house to be limited to one hundred members, and the senate to be raised to twenty-four ; and also that all those expressions should be expunged which disagreed with the express declaration of the Bill of Rights, and which incapacitated a citizen from holding certain offices of honor and trust, unless he were a professor of the Protestant faith. The people were however opposed to any tampering with the legacy which their fathers had left them.

Mr. Hill's conduct in the preceding legislature, the measures which he had recommended and faithfully supported, were very gratifying to his constituents, and they this year re-elected him to the senate, by a vote nearly unanimous. He took a prominent part in the acts and debates of that body. He introduced and successfully supported a resolution to appropriate one thousand dollars for the support of indigent deaf-and-dumb youth at the asylum at Hartford. Since that time, the legislature have granted a yearly sum for the

education of this unfortunate class of citizens. It is to be hoped that they will not confine their benevolence to the afflicted in body merely ;—to those deprived of any of the external senses alone ; but that those who are ruined in mind and destroyed in intellect, shall be rescued by the hand of public charity, from the condition and treatment of the vilest criminals, and placed in a situation where they may be either restored to their reason, their friends and the world, or may be made happy, contented and useful, during the short period which they are doomed to pass in so melancholy state of deprivation.

In 1822, Mr. Hill was again elected to the senate by the nearly unanimous vote of the district. In that station, he, as usual, exerted himself in promotion of the measures which he had long advocated through the columns of his paper. He supported the reduction of the pay of members of congress ; and was seconded in his views by several of the Representatives of New-Hampshire in the National Legislature.—But self-interest was too strong for the patriotism of some of their colleagues, and one honorable member, who conceived himself personally alluded to by Mr. Hill in some remarks on the subject, attempted to procure an indictment against him for a libel, but failed. The ancient Egyptians worshipped the cat and the crocodile, and held it sacrilege to slay one of those holy beasts ; but as otherwise their country would have been overrun and eaten up by their hungry gods, their self-interest proved so far superior to their superstition and reverence, that they held it no sin at all to des-

troy these animals before they had arrived at years of maturity ; and the sacred spawn and little sucking gods were killed without compunction. Thus it ever is. Man will rarely be found so patriotic and so republican as voluntarily to oppose his own interest or lessen his own power. Mr. Hill's exertions, as the people of this county will long remember, were unremitted, to obtain a partition of the old county of Rockingham. It had become a very serious inconvenience for the people of the western part of the county, to travel to the sea coast to procure the adjustment of their business in the courts of law. As in every question where sectional prejudices are brought into collision, great excitement prevailed on the subject, and a violent opposition, consisting, of course, of the residents in the eastern section of the county, was arrayed against the proposed measure. They finally procured its indefinite postponement, on the condition, that the courts should sit, at specified times, at Concord.

A ticket was this year to be made up for members of Congress. Several of the nominating caucuses were believed by Mr. Hill to have been unfairly managed, and without hesitation, he opposed their nominations. In taking this step, which brought him into the unfortunate situation of a collision with a part of his republican friends, he acted on the principle which had always governed his conduct, to support only what he believed to be the fairly-expressed wish of the people. The candidate who was particularly obnoxious to him, was defeated, and harmony was in a great measure restored, where serious difficulties had threatened.

But soon another storm arose which seemed to augur ill for the unanimity of the republicans ; and which appeared to indicate the existence of discordant elements, which nothing could unite. Gov. Bell had been elected by the legislature to fill a vacancy in the Senate of the United States. As had been the invariable practice with the republican party, a legislative convention was held to decide upon a suitable individual to be presented to the people for the succession. The late Gen. Dinsmoor of Keene received a majority of of the suffrages, and was accordingly announced as the democratic candidate. Certain individuals, influenced by sectional prejudices, were dissatisfied at this result, and objected to Gen. D., because, as they urged, he did not live in the eastern part of the State ! With this band of disaffected republicans, a majority of the federal party, who had for several years made not a shadow of opposition, but who now saw too good an opportunity to throw discord into the ranks of their opponents, to be lost, immediately united.— They put in nomination Levi Woodbury. Mr. Woodbury was a young man, held a seat on the bench, had acted uniformly with the republican party, was esteemed, as he has since proved himself, to possess great talents and still greater perseverance, and on this account, became the means, as many of his supporters had craftily intended, of drawing a large part of the republican party from the support of their regular candidate.

Mr. Hill felt it his duty to oppose these movements with all his strength. He saw the motives of the leaders of this new party, and he

feared the results which might spring from their exertions. He knew, for he had experienced, the disastrous effects of federal supremacy, and dreaded its return. Besides, he could see no reason for abandoning a nomination which had been fairly and regularly made according to republican usages. "Legislative caucuses," he says, "should be considered as no further binding than as they express the popular sentiment; whenever they are notoriously against the feelings of the people, the people will reject them." These few words give the true definition of the powers of the legislative caucus, and of the extent to which its nominations should be supported. Respecting this particular case, Mr. Hill believed the wishes of the democratic party to have been fairly expressed in the nomination of Gen. Dinsmoor, and warned his republican friends of the 'dangerous tendency of a departure from democratic usages, and a union with former opponents whose enmity was only smothered, not extinguished—who were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to bring about their former ascendancy. But the efforts of the new amalgamation, aided by a temporary feeling upon the subject of the Judiciary, secured the election of Mr. Woodbury in the spring of 1823. Mr. Hill was, at this early period, charged with '*dictating*,' and received from the federal prints the title of '*state's director*.'

In Jan. 1823, Mr. Hill's name again appears alone upon the New-Hampshire Patriot, his connection with his brother-in-law having been dissolved. About the same time, a new paper was established at Concord, by the opposition, which

still exists under the name of the Statesman and Journal. Frequent collision, or rather incessant contention, between this paper and the Patriot, have been the consequence. At this period, it will be remembered, the trial for the Presidency commenced. Mr. Monroe's administration was drawing to a close, and a new division of parties seemed likely to be made on the subject of his successor. Many of the republicans were in favor of Mr. Adams, while perhaps a considerable majority could place no confidence in his consistency or his political integrity. Mr. Hill considered him as possessing talents of the highest order, but did not anticipate from his past history, which consisted only of a series of tergiversations, that he would be acceptable to any party. He was strongly in favor of a national convention, believing it to be the only mode,—in a country where the blessings of education are so widely diffused and where there are so many individuals, equally worthy with the man who finally obtains the office,—of securing that unanimity of sentiment and action, without which, not only the *men* we prefer, but the *principles* we are contending for, must be inevitably lost. Opposed to a premature discussion of this agitating question; a question which he knew, if too early brought before the public, would unnecessarily convulse the community; for a considerable period, he delayed taking any active part in the warfare between the partizans of different candidates; but gave, in the columns of the Patriot, an impartial summary of the relative merits of each of the five

individuals, who were most prominent as candidates, without expressing a preference for either.

In the winter of 1822—3, Mr. Hill spent some time at the seat of government. He there saw and became acquainted with many eminent men, and made himself conversant with the general feeling on political subjects, and the peculiar prejudices, induced by sectional attachment.—When he finally thought the time had arrived for taking an active part in the presidential campaign, and when he declared himself in favor of Mr. Crawford as the regular democratic candidate, the discovery was soon made that there was some connection between this step and the visit to Washington of the previous winter. Still more, it was not long before the particulars of the bargain were circumstantially detailed with the accuracy of an eye-witness. Mr. Hill, it was said, had been introduced to Mr. Crawford by Gen. King of Maine, and had, on that occasion, given in his oath of fealty and allegiance. These charges were reiterated in different shapes, till Mr. Hill thought it his duty to notice them. He gave the whole story his unqualified denial and exposed its absurdity by showing that Gen. King was not at Washington during the period of his visit.

"I am willing," said he, "to live and die without asking of the people or the servants of the people, any thing but my good name. To the people of New-Hampshire, I am indebted for a patronage in business, which I believe they never awarded to any other individual who printed a newspaper. And so long as I pursue the course

which conscience dictates to be the right course, so long will the people continue that patronage. I am determined to be the passive tool of no man."

The year 1824 is somewhat memorable in the political history of New-Hampshire. The federalists who had supported Mr. Woodbury for Governor, at the preceding election, displeased with the independent course which he took in that office, and finding that with all their exertions, they could not make him subservient to their views, mostly withdrew from the contest.— Gen. Dinsmoor having declined a renomination, David L. Morrill was recognized as the candidate of the republican party and was, this spring, elected. In the legislature, there was also a republican majority. But the members of that majority were not united among themselves, or true to their principles. A legislative caucus was convened, at which federalists and their opponents united in giving the weight of their names against the regular democratic candidate for the Presidency. The great object of the opposition was, (as it is at this time) to bring the election of the Chief Magistrate into Congress. They were willing to take any step, to make themselves subservient to any local party, which might for a moment bubble at the top of the political cauldron, to effect this, their great end. They did not hesitate to unite with their bitterest enemies, if by so doing, they could gain their assistance, in their turn. The result of these exertions on their part was manifested in the nomination of Mr. Adams to the Presidency, by this legislature.

The officers of the convention were all republicans; yet the federalists did not hesitate to join them in the nomination.

Mr. Hill opposed this coalition, this secret management, this undertow that was sapping and mining the very foundations on which the principles of the party were based. He declared himself absolutely opposed to all sectional nominations, where a national convention had been or might be resorted to. He wished no geographical candidate; he believed some concentration necessary, or all choice would inevitably be taken from the people.

At the celebration, this year, of the anniversary of our national independence, Mr. Hill was selected to read the Declaration of Independence. He performed the duty allotted him, made some appropriate remarks, and gave as a sentiment, a compliment to his and the democratic candidate, Mr. Crawford.

The fall session was a stormy one; it perhaps approached in violence the fall session of 1812. The legislature was split up into little factions, and there appeared indications of danger, lest all principle should be lost sight of, in the scramble of petty partizans. As is ever the case, when the republicans suffer themselves to become disunited, their opponents ruled things at their pleasure, and by appealing to their separate prejudices, made them passive instruments of their will. A senator in congress was to have been chosen at this session, and trial after trial was made to effect an election. Several individuals were chosen as far as one branch could elect, but without

the concurrence of the other. The house of representatives on their part, although decidedly republican, even chose on one occasion a federalist to represent them, at this critical juncture of public affairs, in the National Senate ! This, with the fact that republican electors gave the vote of the State for John Q. Adams, certainly indicated such an 'era of good feelings,' as the federal party might well wish lasting. The legislature finally separated without making any choice of senator. M. Hill expressed his dissatisfaction in decided terms, at the worse than useless manner in which this session had been passed. The halls of legislation seemed to have become an arena for the strifes of petty demagogues.

In 1825, this factious spirit was somewhat allayed. The Presidential contest had been decided, as far as the votes of the people's electors could effect a decision. In this State, the republicans were in the majority, and Gov. Morrill was re-elected by a vote of singular unanimity. At the session of the legislature in June, Mr. Hill was once more elected clerk of the senate, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Richard Bartlett, Esq. who had been, during the first week of the session, chosen Secretary of State. A meeting of the friends of internal improvements, who believed from actual surveys, that it was practicable to unite by a canal, the waters of the Merrimack and the Connecticut, the Merrimack and Winnipisiogee, and the Winnipisiogee and the Piscataqua, was held at Concord during the session of the legislature. Mr. Hill was a member of a committee chosen to

memorialize the legislature for assistance in making a scientific survey. In the course of the year, by the exertions of Mr. H. and his coadjutors, the canal route was surveyed, and calculations made of its probable cost.

It was the remarks of Mr. Hill in relation to the town election of this year, and the manner in which it had been conducted, that drew forth a communication from the selectmen of the town, charging him with being a calumniator, and a liar. It may surprise those who have long imagined this charge to have been made by a vote of the town, or even, as it has been said, recorded upon the town books,—to learn that it was merely an expression of the personal opinions of those who made it; and that Mr. Hill, the next year, determined to try the feelings of the town upon the subject. For this purpose, he suffered himself to be run for representative, knowing that the same board of selectmen who had accused him of misrepresentation, would be again supported, and wishing the result of the vote to declare the degree of credibility attached to each party by the citizens generally. A man so obnoxious to the leaders of the opposition, was of course opposed with the greatest virulence. The result was the election of the editor of the Patriot by a large majority, and such a woful falling off in the supporters of the old selectmen, as to give them only *nine votes each*! Mr. Hill felt a deep interest in the result of this election; we subjoin his remarks concerning it:

“The board of Selectmen above alluded to

was the same as that nominated the present year. These men, we have good reason to believe, were this year nominated to be supported with the especial view of fortifying the declaration contained in their publication. The result of the votes shows how well the declaration was sustained.—The federal party and the individuals composing the old board of selectmen deliberately made choice of this mode of deciding the controversy—they staked their reputation on this game; and the result has proved that they are left in a condition somewhat worse than in the *nine holes*.

“The result of the election in this town last Tuesday, is peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of the editor of the Patriot. It was the first time he ever stood a candidate for any office in the gift of the town; and he was induced to be a candidate for no other reason than to throw off the stigma which had been cast on him, that he had not the confidence of his neighbors and townsmen. The controversy was personal as well as political; and the chance was against him—for while he might calculate that all who were politically opposed would, as a matter of course, vote against him, it might also be supposed that personal or local considerations would lose the support of some of his own party. The result agreeably disappointed his most sanguine friends, as it overwhelmed those more sanguine men who had long triumphed in the fancied success of their misrepresentations.

“There never has been an election in the town more severely contested than this; and it was determined precisely on the old party dis-

inction of republicans and federalists ; only the latter so far changed their ground as to head their ticket "true republican," taking Mr. Morrill and the republican candidates for state and county officers, with two veteran federalists, the giants of the party, who had often successfully run, as candidates for representatives ; while the former chose the more apposite appellation of "democrat" to head their ticket, with both Pierce and Morrill as candidates for Governor, taking their most popular man, *with another most odious to the opposite party*, as candidates for representatives. The federalists were not discouraged by losing their moderator at the first run—the leaders besieged the poll and animated their followers by telling them that the first choice was effected by the votes of the federalists for the democratic candidate. More republicans coming in, and some few federalists leaving the sinking ship, a second trial increased the democratic majority from fifty to more than seventy. And on counting the votes for selectmen, given in at the third balloting, it was found that the main body of federalism had deserted, leaving the "old board of selectmen," two with only *nine* and the other with *ten* votes, to keep them in remembrance !"

At this election, Gov. Morrill was again re-elected, by a union of republican and federal votes. A large portion of the republican party had become dissatisfied with his course, and cast their votes for the old veteran, Pierce.

During the session of the legislature, the most perfect unanimity and harmony prevailed among

its members; and in consequence, the people's interests were not neglected, and much important business was transacted. Mr. Hill took a prominent part in the acts and debates of the popular branch. He was appointed chairman of the committee on banks and as such, reported against granting any more bank charters, on the ground that they were not needed, and that the capital stock already granted, was not yet entirely taken up. As the creation of new banks is generally supported on local and personal motives, and as members are unwilling to oppose a new charter when called for, because they may themselves need a similar favor in their turn, there is always danger that too many, rather than too few banks will be created for the convenience and good of the public. In the progress of one bank bill, Mr. Hill procured its recommitment with instructions to provide that the corporation should not go into operation, until evidence had been given to the Secretary of State, that all the capital stock had been paid in, in specie. Even then, he opposed the final passage, and spoke several times against the further multiplication of such petty monopolies. He also made speeches against taxation on sheep; against removing the courts from Concord to Hopkinton; in favor of an appropriation, jointly with the legislature of Vermont, to improve the navigation of the Connecticut; in favor of an appropriation towards constructing a road through Franconia Notch, and another in favor of a survey for a canal route from the Merimack to the Connecticut. All these measures were evidently for the public advantage; and the

people thought none the worse of his exertions, because, as it was alleged, he was guilty of writing his speeches before he delivered them.

The language and doctrine of Gov. Morrill's message not being acceptable to the republicans, the worthy old patriot, Gen. Pierce, was nominated in his stead. He was elected in the spring of 1827, with trifling opposition. In July, 1826, Mr. Hill visited the flourishing region of the west—that section of the State of New-York which is so peculiarly interesting from the associations which are connected with it, in relation to both our wars for this country's independence. He visited and examined with care and attention all the interesting relics of those times of danger, and wrote home for the columns of his paper, interesting and spirited letters descriptive of the artificial and natural beauties of the country which he was visiting. From Bennington, Ticonderoga, Saratoga, Lewiston, Niagara, Utica, Buffalo, &c. were written communications of great value, which, at the time of their publication, were extensively copied, and which richly merit preservation in a more durable form. We do not remember that federal cunning discovered any connection between this journey of Mr. Hill's and the political movements of the times.

In the winter of 1826, the subject of Mr. Adams' re-election began to be agitated in the public papers. Mr. Hill was decidedly opposed to most of the prominent measures of his administration. A friend of universal peace, he did not believe a mission to a Panama Congress consistent with the dignity of the country, or the parting

advice of the sage of Mont-Vernon. Active as he had been in the promotion of every constitutional scheme of improving the internal resources of our country, he did not consider it republican, constitutional or politic, to convert the money of the whole nation to the aggrandisement or the improvement of particular sections. Hence, he early and actively engaged in the opposition to Mr. Adams. The same principles which he supported in the columns of his paper, found a zealous advocate in the national senate, in the person of Judge Woodbury, who was now more than ever obnoxious to the administration party.

But Mr. Hill was not long allowed to persevere in the bold and decided stand which he had taken, without experiencing the effects of the malice of those whom he opposed. The public printing which he had long enjoyed was taken from him by Mr. Secretary Clay and given to the New-Hampshire Journal, a paper which had just been commenced, had only a limited circulation, and whose talented editor, the brother-in-law and former partner of Mr. Hill, now became his most uncompromising opponent. The amount of this patronage, which was taken from him by such a summary act, was indeed but trifling, and in the prosperous state of Mr. Hill's affairs, had no effect upon the circulation of his paper, or his own welfare; yet Mr. Hill could not but regard it as an attempt at proscription and as a manifestation of the treatment he had to expect from his political opponents, whenever it should be in their power to injure him. He had the consolation, however, of the approbation of his friends, in the course

which he had taken ; and knowing that he was beloved of the people, such petty attacks could only excite a smile of contempt. There is an Eastern saying, " If the moon be with thee, thou needest not care for the stars." Hence, he was above being affected by the exclusive, the persecuting policy which the administration party ever adopted, whenever for a moment, they had it in their power to exercise a little brief authority.

In 1827, Mr. Hill once more received the republican nomination for senator in the State legislature from district No. Four. Unparalleled exertions were made to secure his defeat. Such an event was confidently anticipated by the opposition—their measures had been laid with such skill and secrecy, that they were certain of success. On the day before the election, a new candidate, a man of talents and influence, was nominated in opposition to the editor of the Patriot, and runners sent throughout the district to distribute the tickets and drill every man to his duty. Yet, was Mr. Hill chosen by a majority greater than any of his predecessors in office had ever received, when their election had been contested. A better evidence of his popularity with those who knew him best, could not have been given.

The Presidential contest was fiercely waged this year, throughout New-England. Every man exerted all his influence with a devotedness that seemed to say that the existence of the country depended upon his individual exertions. The editor of the New-Hampshire Patriot was recognized as the leader of the opposition or Jackson

party in this section of the Union. His paper teemed with argument and sarcasm; the productions of his own pen and the contributions of friends supplied him with matter such as every republican was anxious to read. In proportion as the value of his exertions began to be appreciated by the friends of democracy generally, did the abuse with which he had always been unsparingly visited, increase in virulence. Not only was his public course arraigned before the bar of general condemnation, but his private character was traduced, and a selfish motive discovered in every, the most benevolent act of his life or amiable trait in his character. It is never pleasant to have one's conduct judged by the green eye of jealousy or the gangrene of political or personal malice, and few men ever came forth from the fiery ordeal so pure as did Mr. Hill. The more he was abused, the more obstinately did the republicans resolve upon shewing him honor, and the only way to render him an object of indifference to the people of this State, will be to cease those unmerited, groundless attacks, which have redounded, in the end, to his own honor, and have put his accusers to the blush. Mr. Hill, while he did not suffer his whole time to be employed in answering and re-answering every stale slander that was adduced against him, adopted always the principle, conscious of his ability to do so, to refute with promptness every charge, which, from its nature or the source from which it originated, might tend to injure his reputation or lessen his credit. Although his friends might not believe the accusation, yet they might think his

silence an unfavorable indication. The Egyptians have a proverb, 'Throw mud against the wall, and if do not stick, it will leave a mark.'

The Secretary of State of New-Hampshire, adopting the petty, miserable policy of a higher dignitary, was this year pleased to withdraw the State printing from Mr. Hill and transfer it to the Journal. No reason was assigned, because perhaps too obvious; but the worst feature of the business was the refusal of the Secretary to allow Mr. Hill an opportunity to publish the laws of the State for nothing, simultaneously with the favored print. None of these things moved Mr. Hill. He addressed to the Secretary a temperate letter, to which he received no reply.

When the charge of inconsistency was brought against him for denouncing the course of Mr. Bell in the Federal Senate, Mr. Hill replied by showing that it was Mr. Bell who had changed his opinions, and who supported measures which he had denounced when Governor of the State and a favorite of Mr. Hill. He proved these things from the messages of Gov. Bell. In them, *His Excellency* had declared national appropriations for internal improvements, a "construction of the constitution wholly unwarranted"—the *Senator* now considered the system constitutional and politic. So of the rest;—and had Mr. Hill changed? He could only say that he entertained the same opinions upon all the topics of national interest, then under discussion, as he had expressed in 1819, when he agreed with Mr. Bell and gave him his hearty support.

It was likewise busily and maliciously reported

that Mr. Hill was at times insane, and some even affected to pity him for the tinge of madness which characterised his writings. Mr. Hill once took occasion to notice this tale ; "There is," said he, "an Almighty Power who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, who will preserve us from such a calamity, and who will not suffer our intellectual vision to be dimmed until our work shall be accomplished. We have faith to persevere in a righteous cause, confident that cause will be prospered."

Many of the old republicans in New-Hampshire had preferred Mr. Adams in 1824, to any of his rival candidates. Many of them still cleaved to his fortunes, while a large number once more returned to the democratic ranks ; disapproving the favorite measures of the candidate they had helped to elect, and disgusted with the persecuting spirit of their new associates. Mr. Hill's views of the momentous questions involved in the decision of the Presidential question, are well expressed in the following article from his pen :

"The editor of the Patriot commenced this paper nearly nineteen years ago during the dark and portentous period which preceded the late war with Great Britain. He commenced it, not with the expectation of the gain of filthy lucre, not with the expectation of getting to himself the honors or emoluments of office, but with the hope that he should render a feeble support to those PRINCIPLES in which are involved the rights and liberties and best interest of the people. In his progress thus far, he has not always trod the smoothest and easiest road : with a single view to the CAUSE in which he was engaged, he has frequently encountered rough and rugged paths, the thorns and thongs of aristoc-

racy on the one hand, and the cold and thankless indifference of men who thought there was nothing worth contending for in that cause, no great difference between the friends and the enemies of the country, on the other. He has not stopped to inquire which would be the popular side which course would meet with most favor of the largest number of great men; but having ascertained what would best subserve the great and cardinal principles always kept in view, he has not feared to encounter, in the support of the right side, the obloquy and the reproaches of men who are always brave and valiant where there is no danger.

The last and the present Presidential controversy has brought into action many of that valiant class of politicians just hinted at—it has revived the old spirit of the federal party, awakened that party to new hopes, and kindled again that fire of persecution and proscription which was always the strong characteristic of that party. New-England feelings and New-England prejudices are again appealed to, for no other purpose than to bring a second time the aristocratic party into power. We very early foresaw that this was the great object of many of the New-England men who first espoused the cause of Mr. Adams: we saw that they had this object in view when they first contended so strenuously against all agreement and concert among republicans in the choice of President: we saw it, as the election progressed to that state which showed that the House of Representatives, pre-determining that the people should not elect, intended to give the final choice to a minority of their own body: we saw it in the first movements and appointments of an Executive, thus elected, claiming to be the administration; and we have seen it in every subsequent movement and measure of a Cabinet whose great business since its first organization, seems to have been that of forcing public opinion to the pledge that the Cabinet should be continued in power after its first term had expired. If we have taken ground in opposition to this Cabinet, it was not because we expected our cause would be a popular one in New-England, it was not that we could entertain a hope that ours would not be a thorny and a disagreeable path; but it was because we considered that there was a right side

and a wrong side to this question, and we were determined to take what we deemed to be the right side, regardless of consequences, regardless of the frowns and the displeasure of men who commanded an immense patronage which they could wield against us.

Thus far, we have been happily disappointed in the effect and the results of this struggle in New-Hampshire. The great mass of the democratic party are fast getting upon their old ground, from which they will not be driven. The violence of the administration and its agents is fast opening the eyes of the people. The more candid men of the federal party already admit that there may be a majority of this State opposed to the re-election of Mr. Adams; and every attempt of the "Great New-England Adams party" to take this State into its keeping by force has resulted in utter discomfiture. In many sections of the State the people are already aroused by the violence and proscription which has been threatened. And, at present, we have no doubt that, by due vigilance and energy, the Democratic Party will pass the fiery trial through which their old enemy is forcing them, unscathed and unhurt."

At the session of the legislature in 1827, Mr. Hill was chairman of the committee of the Senate on schools and seminaries of learning, and a member of the committee on banks. In his first capacity, he reported a bill for the establishment of the New-Hampshire University; an institution to be supported by the avails of the Literary Fund, and to be under the control of the State. The measure was not adopted, but a different disposition of the Literary Fund has been made. At the legislative caucus, Gov. Pierce was again nominated for the executive chair.

In 1828, on the ever memorable eighth of January, the republicans of New-Hampshire held a festival at Concord to commemorate the great

victory, which must ever be associated with the return of that anniversary. A larger assemblage of rejoicing freemen has never been witnessed in the capital of the Granite State, save on one or two similar occasions. Mr. Hill was selected to deliver the Address to this great auditory.—The duty was ably performed. The orator commenced by alluding to the great principles for which the war of the revolution was declared; he showed how those principles were established; he showed how prosperous our country had become, prior to the late war with Great Britain.—He briefly alluded to the causes of that war, and then entered upon an historical sketch of the great chain of events whose final consummation in the victory of New-Orleans, his auditors were then called together to celebrate. He gave a brief history of the prominent events of the life of vicissitudes which Gen. Jackson had endured, and from his services and the principles he had contended for, he passed to a summary of the life of Mr. Adams; his numerous treasons committed against every party; the principles in which he had been nurtured, and the measures, which, in his Executive capacity, he had advocated. The address was plain and practical; such an one as was calculated to instruct, to please, and to make a lasting impression. The conclusion is elsewhere given.*

Mr. Hill was re-nominated to the senate. Again, was every nerve strained against him. His own paper, the only republican paper in the dis-

* See Appendix D.

trict, the opposition, inflamed by numerous defeats and having at their command two presses, whence were thrown off every species of abuse, which partizan malignity or personal hatred could dictate, were successful, not only in this senatorial district, but throughout the State. This result, many causes combined to produce. As in 1814, the continual cries, together with the underhand machinery of a united and talented opposition, produced a temporary reaction in the public mind. There seemed to exist a feeling that violence would be committed against the rights of the Presidential incumbent, were he permitted to serve but one constitutional term. The letter of an honorable senator in congress, who knowingly and deliberately committed the falsehood of writing home from the seat of government to the political gamblers of the State he represented, that the venerable ex-presidents, Madison and Monroe had consented to stand as electors in opposition to Gen Jackson, exerted its full effect in defeating the real favorite of the people and placing a brother of the letter-writer in the gubernatorial chair.

To secure the defeat of Mr. Hill, an object apparently of greater moment to the federal party than the victory of their candidate for the chief magistracy, the greatest exertions were used, and every measure, however unprincipled, unhesitatingly adopted. Garbled extracts, such as every file-thumber can collect, were made from ancient numbers of the Patriot, showing what were called his deliberate opinions of Mr. Bell, Mr. Adams and others, by republishing the occasional senten-

ces in which Mr. H. had formerly alluded to those gentlemen, when they acted with the republican party, and when they co-operated with him in opposition to federal misrule, and the toryism of 1814. These extracts were carefully collated, used as texts for bitter comments, published in pamphlet form, and made to travel, under the title of "Wise Sayings of Hon. Isaac Hill," into every hamlet of the country, as damning proofs of inconsistency and insincerity.* By such means as these, did Mr. Hill lose his election; the first time that he ever experienced defeat for any elective office, for which he was a candidate.

Throughout the year 1828, as every one remembers, the whole country was convulsed by the political contest that was then waged. Neither time, labor or money was spared by either party. Newspapers sprang into existence like the magic creations of the lamp of Aladdin, and old establishments poured forth their redundant matter in teeming *extras*. In New-Hampshire, the struggle was peculiarly violent. Fresh as must be the particulars of this contest, in the minds of our citizens, it is not our purpose to enlarge upon them. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Hill's paper was almost entirely filled with topics of national interest; that whilst he maintained abroad, a high character for talents and perseverance, he was obliged to contend with a bitter, uncompromising foe at home. Coffin-handbills, monumental inscriptions, and other hideous, ghastly shapes,

* See Appendix E.

apparently just fresh from the Golgotha of dry bones, were thrown into every farmers's house in the land, to prejudice the honest puritan against the coldblooded murderer of poor John Woods and his five innocent fellow-soldiers, the heartless traitor and fellow-conspirator with Burr, or the parricide who could wantonly imbue his hands in the blood of his own kinsmen. Such was the opposition that Mr. Hill had to contend with ; such the unprincipled measures which he was called upon to expose.

In June, a grand republican State Convention was held at Concord to take measures relative to the ensuing Presidential election. Primary meetings of the people in every part of the State were here represented, and an interchange of views and opinions effected, highly conducive to unanimity of action. Candidates for Governor, Electors and Members of Congress were fixed upon. Isaac Hill was a delegate from Concord. He was chosen chairman of a committee of correspondence, and also chairman of a committee to prepare an address to the people. In that capacity, he reported a lengthy and interesting document, in which he reviewed with a masterly hand, the acts and measures of the administration, and the character of its supporters. We could not do it justice by any extracts we could make.

Every branch of the government was anti-democratic, and an entire revolution was effected in the public officers. A senator in congress was chosen by this legislature. Mr. Hill received the republican suffrages, but Mr. Bell was elected by a vote of 133 to 82 ; a result agreeing with the

situation of parties in the legislature. It was on this occasion, that Mr. Bell gave, in a public speech, his solemn engagement to resign his office, whenever he should cease to represent a majority of his constituents. It is well known that this pledge was never redeemed, and that Mr. Bell clung to his place in the Senate, misrepresenting the wishes and the opinions of the people of New-Hampshire, and disregarding their oft-repeated requests for him to vacate his seat, till the last moment of his constitutional term.

On the fourth of July of this year, Mr. Hill delivered an oration before the republicans of Portsmouth. In the autumn, the fiat of the people decided the great question which had so long agitated the community. Their voice loudly proclaimed their determination that a weak and unprincipled administration was unworthy of their support. New-Hampshire gave her electoral vote for Adams, but the people of the UNION declared for the patriot-soldier who had filled the measure of his country's glory.

In January, 1829, a primary meeting of the republican electors of the senatorial district No. 4, again nominated Mr. Hill and resolved to give him their united, hearty support. Mr. Hill declined and another gentleman received the nomination and was elected. Indeed, throughout the State, the people rose up, as if actuated by one common sentiment and threw off the shackles which had been imposed upon them. The men, whom, through deception and chicanery, they had been induced to support, after a twelve months'

butterfly existence under the honors and emoluments of office, were permitted to retire to private life, and the revolutionary patriot Pierce was again called to the chief magistracy, with republican associates in every branch of the government. Those who had the preceding year, been proscribed for their unyielding republicanism, were replaced in the stations which they had lost, not forfeited.

Mr. Hill, this year, forwarded to Washington a petition of the people of Portsmouth, accompanied with a letter of his own, complaining of oppression on the part of the Branch Bank of the United States in Portsmouth, and praying for redress. Mr. Biddle justified the Bank, and entered into an argument to disprove the existence of fraud or oppression. This, we have been told by a distinguished statesman, was in reality, the commencement of the struggle between the democratic party and the directors of the Bank—it did not originate in their refusal to lend Gen. Jackson money without responsible endorsers, or in their declining to become the agents of governmental corruption—to this petition and the accompanying letter, is alone to be attributed the downfall of the Bank.

Mr. Hill passed the latter part of the winter and the spring at Washington. Gen. Jackson was desirous of bestowing upon him some office which might serve to indicate his feelings towards him, and to prove the reality of his opinions of the eminent services which Mr. Hill had ever been, even from the time of the Embargo, rendering to the cause of republicanism. He there

fore, almost immediately after his inauguration, tendered to Mr. Hill the responsible office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury Department. Mr. Hill accepted the appointment and entered upon the duties of his office* on the twenty-first of March. Retiring from the editorial chair of the New-Hampshire Patriot, which he had so acceptably and ably filled for thirty years, during which time, he had invariably been found on the side of republicanism, that paper appeared with the names of Horatio Hill & Co. as publishers.

Mr. Hill commenced the reform which had been demanded by the people in tones whose meaning could not be misunderstood, by returning and ordering the discontinuance of the great number of newspapers that it had been the custom of his predecessor to receive at the expense of the government. This act brought upon him the personal hatred of those editors whose publications he had

*The duties of the Second Comptroller are to examine all accounts settled by the Second, Third and Fourth Auditors, certify the balance to the Secretary of the Department, in which the expenditures have been incurred; countersign all requisitions drawn by the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, warranted by law; report to the Secretaries the official forms to be used in the different offices for distributing the public money in those Departments, and the manner and form of keeping and stating the accounts of the persons employed therein. It is also his duty to superintend the preservation of the public accounts subject to his revision.

The salary of the Second Comptroller is three thousand dollars per annum, and he has the appointment of eight clerks, whose salaries vary from ten to seventeen hundred dollars.

refused to receive, as well as the unsparing abuse of the whole kennel of disappointed political managers who had found themselves left far in the background by the result of the general election. Their aristocratic feelings, too, were strongly excited by this appointment. They could not bear in patience, the idea, that a common printer and a self-educated man should be elevated to a post of honor and emolument, where he could not but be a prominent object before the people of the country; and as such, could not fail to impress the public with favorable opinions of himself, his motives and measures. The printer and editor Hill, and the schoolmaster and editor Kendall, both enterprising sons of dear Yankee land, were especially eye-sores in the sight of this exclusive aristocracy.

Throughout the year was Mr. Hill doomed to become the passive recipient and unyielding object of the vile slanders of a vile press. It seemed that the very gall of bitterness which had been accumulating against him ever since the commencement of his editorial career, by those whose mischievous doctrines he had exposed and whose measures he had contributed to defeat, was now to be poured out unsparingly upon his devoted head.— Mr. Hill, himself inactive, pursued quietly the even tenor of his way, turned not to the right hand or to the left to refute the base and self-answering charges alleged against him, and, by his steady, persevering attention to the business of his office, the capacity for business and the almost intuitive knowledge which he evinced of the routine of duties attached to his station, secured

to him the respect and admiration of all who had occasion to deal with him in his official character. He had friends, however, who, unwilling to see an amiable man, and a worthy public officer, traduced with impunity, zealously took up the gauntlet in his behalf, and compelled his enemies, either to retract their accusations, or by silence, acknowledge their falsehood.

Mr. Hill's private affairs requiring a short visit to the place of his former residence, he sought and obtained of the President leave of absence and visited Concord. His business, which had been for thirty years gradually increasing and enlarging itself, he was now obliged to close. It was likewise his wish to obtain a permanent editor for the Patriot; a man who should in some measure, fill the place which he had formerly held in the affections of the people of New-Hampshire. His visit to Concord was made in June; hence, the sagacious observers who were always so cunning as to suspect duplicity and management, where none existed save in their own hearts, conceived his object to be to dictate to the legislature and oblige them to conform themselves to his sovereign will.

A State Convention was, as usual, held at Concord, during the session, for the nomination of candidates and other measures necessary to sustain the organization of the democratic party.— This large and respectable convention, collected from all parts of the State, took occasion, before their separation, to make a public expression of their sense of the important services which Mr. Hill had rendered to the republican cause.—

This was done in a manner so happy, so flattering and so appropriate, as coming from the representatives of a State, with whose politics he had long been identified, that we cannot refrain from inserting the proceedings at length.

On motion, the Hon. John Chadwick, Horace Chase, Peter Sweatt, Squire B. Hascall, Joseph Hammons, Samuel Tilton, Warren Lovell, John Quimby, Abner B. Kelly and Ebenezer Butler, Esquires, were appointed a committee to wait on the Hon. Isaac Hill and in behalf of this Convention tender him their most cordial and decided approbation of the course he has uniformly pursued in support of the republican cause, and express also their regret that he is about to leave the State.

Pursuant to said appointment, the following communication was addressed to him :

ADDRESS.

THE HONORABLE ISAAC HILL :

SIR—The Democratic Republican members of the State Legislature assembled in convention, June 23, 1829, appointed the undersigned a committee to convey to you their cordial and unqualified approbation of your political course—for the able and independent support you have for more than twenty years rendered to the cause of Democratic Republicanism in this State, and also for the indefatigable and never-tiring zeal manifested by you in defence of the rights and sovereignty of the people. And although their kind feelings towards you have been highly gratified by your appointment to a high and responsible office, recently conferred on you by the government of the United States, and notwithstanding they heartily rejoice that you are about to receive the reward your talents, integrity and faithful services so justly merit; yet these feelings are not unmingled with regret while reflecting on your necessary absence from the State, and while taking leave of a

citizen who has ever enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Republican party.

Be pleased, sir, to accept assurances of our unfeigned esteem and respect.

JOHN CHADWICK,
HORACE CHASE,
WARREN LOVELL,
PETER SWEATT,
SQUIRE B. HASCALL,
JOSEPH HAMMONS,
SAMUEL TILTON,
JOHN QUIMBY,
EBENEZER BUTLER,
ABNER B. KELLY.

Concord, June 24, 1829.

To which he made the following reply :

A N S W E R.

To the Hon. John Chadwick, Horace Chase, Warren Lovell, Peter Sweatt, Squire B. Hascall, Joseph Hammons, Samuel Tilton, John Quimby, Ebenezer Butler and Abner B. Kelly, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN: About to leave the State in the temporary service to which I have been called by the President at the seat of the National Government, no circumstance can give me greater pleasure than to carry with me the kind feelings and the approbation of the republicans of New-Hampshire.

In reviewing the past, what man of active life before the public, can look back without seeing something in himself to regret? What man, incessantly engaged in the political controversies of the last twenty years, who may not have discovered at times perhaps an imprudent zeal, and at other times have mistaken the character and motives of men? With no claims to an exemption from the frailties incident to human nature, my highest ambition is gratified by the award of honest and upright intentions, bestowed by you, gentlemen, in behalf of the Representatives of the Democracy of the State of New-Hampshire in its Legislature.

Through all political vicissitudes, from the first great

division of federalist and republican in 1798 down to the present time, parties in this State have remained the same; individuals only have changed as some have passed off, while others have come upon the stage, and a few time servers and trimmers, generally for the sake of preferment, have changed from one side to the other. It is a fact worthy of remark, that nearly every town in this State which warmly supported the reign of the first Adams, supported the Administration of the second Adams, and those which espoused the cause and the principles of Jefferson in 1798, supported the election of Andrew Jackson thirty years afterwards. So also the towns which have this year chosen democratic representatives and given our patriotic Governor majorities, are the same towns which gave our first democratic Governor majorities.

The identity of character in the two parties may be traced all the way through our political history. The federal, or aristocratic party has been invariably intolerant, supercilious, overbearing and exclusive. The republican, or democratic party has been generous even to a fault toward their political enemies. The consequence has been that the commencement of the present National and State administrations found most of the offices under both in the hands of the aristocracy. Although this aristocracy, after its discomfiture in 1816, had proclaimed an oblivion of parties, yet the victory obtained over the people by bargain and intrigue, in the Presidential election of 1824, and the consequent accession of a corrupt administration to power, revived at once their old intolerance and bitterness. In this State every moveable man in any office who acted as a republican was displaced. And now that the republicans, again reinstated in power by the people, protect themselves by removing some of the most violent and intolerant of their enemies from office, replacing their friends in their old positions, or appointing others who have encountered oppression in its worst form, the exclusive party who were never known to tolerate any political opponent, raise and reiterate the cry of persecution and proscription at every removal that takes place. It is worthy of observation, that at least two thirds of the offices of profit at the seat of the National Government,

after the removals thus far made, are still held by persons who were opposed to the election of Gen. Jackson, and the same may be said of the officers under our own State government.

If ever there was a time when a republican administration could be justified in removing its enemies from office, that time is the present. So far as the people could express an opinion on this subject, that opinion has been decisively in favor of such removals. Our political enemies, anticipating that they deserved it, put the late elections on this ground:—they chose to run the risque of either engrossing the whole power to themselves or of losing it, rather than that we should have any favor—they chose an exclusive course; and if we do not now take them at their word, we shall show that we are willing to place weapons in their hands with which they may destroy us—we shall show that we deserve all their reproaches, and that we deserve no commiseration if the serpent warmed in our own bosom stings us to death.

The aristocratic party, in conducting the late elections, have also provoked retaliation by the most profligate and abandoned course of electioneering: the most unheard-of calumny and abuse was heaped on the candidate of the people, sanctioned by men high in authority—he was called by every epithet which could designate crime, and the amiable partner of his bosom was dragged before the people as worse than a convicted felon. What sympathy do men of such a party deserve—what sympathy can they receive, when complaining that the places which they have abused are given to others?

The political conflicts of the last twenty years in this State have been a contention for absolute and exclusive control by the federalists, and for equality of rights and toleration by the republicans. The former have shewn no mercy, and have treated their opponents as usurpers in office; the latter have always given their opponents more than their proportion of offices according to numbers. The war has been unequal—it has been offensive on one side, and defensive on the other. And so habitual has become the kind treatment of republicans towards the federalists, that after the latter

have waged a Punic war and been beaten and prostrated, they have at length the hardihood to come in at once and claim anew that *equal distribution* which they have been wont to receive, and to arm themselves again with the same offensive weapons which have been repeatedly wrested from them. This course, although it may do great credit to the humanity of republicans, is, to say the least, of doubtful policy: it may be laudable and magnanimous, once or twice to try such an experiment; but when each experiment has repeatedly failed, to the disadvantage of the majority, it is surely bad policy to continue its repetition.

One bad effect of the policy pursued by republicans has been the acquisition to their ranks in the heyday of their prosperity of all that class of politicians who love the honors and emoluments of office better than the public interest: these men, always intending to be on the strongest side, are sure to be found in the ranks of our enemies at all dark and gloomy periods. The republican ascendancy in this State was prostrated in the time of the embargo of 1808, by the influence of these men; and to the influence of the same men does our State owe the triumphs of the Hartford Convention party during the trying years of 1813—14 and '15. So strong and self sufficient had the same class of men become, at the commencement of Mr. Adams' late administration, that they even essayed to lead the entire body of the republicans and lay them bound at the feet of the aristocracy!

To fight or die was the only alternative of the republican party. In this State they have nobly contended—they contended with their old political adversaries, when nearly every man claiming to be a political leader went over to the enemy. The enemy with the new recruit of leaders have been routed and beaten: what favors have the republicans now to ask of them—what favors can those men bestow who have sold themselves to our political enemies?

The Republican Yeomanry of New-Hampshire have been *the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night* which it has always been safe to follow. With these it has ever been my pleasure and my pride to act on every great question of National politics: their names have

been constantly before me as my staff and my support—these, ninety-nine cases in every hundred, have continued true to principle and to patriotism. From the ranks of these have proceeded those who have covered the Nation with glory in the tented field: these are safe politicians, safe defenders and safe friends. It fills the measure of my regret to leave such friends—may I hope, NOT FOREVER!

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
Your friend and obedient servant,

ISAAC HILL.

Concord, June 25, 1829.

The first number of the New-Hampshire Patriot, under the editorial conduct of its present editor, was issued on the ninth of July, 1829.

After tarrying a few weeks at Concord, and after placing his affairs in a proper train for final adjustment, Mr. Hill returned to Washington, and entered with renewed ardor and with his characteristic industry, upon the duties of his office. But all his attention to business, his withdrawal from any participation in petty political struggles, his correct and gentlemanly deportment, his exertions to give no one just cause of offence where all were watching him, anxious to seize upon the slightest error that might be made an excuse for renewed denunciations, could not shield him from the calumny of personal and political opponents. The same, oft-repeated, idle stories were reiterated through the columns of every opposition print in the Union. It was very evident that he had been expressly marked out as an individual on whom to wreak their vengeance for the failure of their schemes. He was denounced as insignificant and odious; odious, without doubt, to those who applied these epithets,

but insignificant he could not be called who had totally prostrated a thoroughly organized majority in New-Hampshire, and had paralysed the efforts of the opposition throughout New-England. That opposition had the baseness even to reproach him with his personal deformity ; as though calamities inflicted by the hand of heaven, could be imputed to the unfortunate sufferer, as a crime.

An incident occurred in the autumn of 1829, which is connected with the history of Mr. Hill, and which, at that time, created great excitement throughout the State. Timothy Upham of Portsmouth, who had been an officer in the late war, and under Mr. Adams, collector of the port of Portsmouth, was nominated by the opposition party as a candidate for the chief magistracy of the State. Col. Barton, the editor of the Patriot, conceived that he could obtain documents that would indubitably establish a fact which, in the eyes of the law-loving puritans of New-England, would not redound greatly to the honor of Gen. Upham. In short, he openly and boldly accused him of a violation of the revenue laws, and of having amassed wealth by a series of smuggling transactions. Several papers tending to establish this fact, he knew to be in one of the public offices at Washington, and at his request and for his use, copies of them were obtained through the agency of Mr. Hill. The exposure of Gen. Upham's dishonorable and illegal practices threw the ranks of his supporters into the utmost confusion. Many an honest yeoman concluded that he must be a hollow-hearted patriot, who could reap laurels on the field, at the same moment that he was

robbing his country of the very thews and sinews of war. Although Mr. Upham's friends boldly declared the documents spurious, the people obstinately persisted in testifying to their credibility, both in caucus and at the polls. The part which Mr. Hill had taken in bringing about this exposure, was greatly exaggerated and the malignity of the supporters of Upham, proportionably increased. The same sort of fellow-feeling, which had led them to sympathise in the misfortunes of Toby Watkins and to rail at Mr. Kendall, who had been in a measure, the necessary instrument of exposing his defalcations, now induced them to declaim in terms more bitter than ever against a man who had dared to be instrumental in exposing the dishonorable transactions in which a candidate for a high public office had once been engaged. Their wrath at this overthrow of their candidate, did not, however, influence their judgment so far as to induce them to submit once more, for certain defeat, the man who had met with so unfortunate an accident as the disclosure of this little episode in the history of his past life.

As the session of congress approached, the struggle to ensure what they thought would forever disgrace Mr. Hill, and return him to his former station a humbled and ruined man, was eagerly commenced and perseveringly maintained by his personal and political opponents. Calculations were made in the public papers, prior to the meeting of congress, of the exact number of the democratic senators, whose minds it would be necessary to poison against Mr. Hill to effect his

rejection from the office of Second Comptroller. These machinations were not without their effect. It was made known in April, 1830, that Isaac Hill, the pride of the democracy of New-Hampshire, was indeed rejected from the office, for which the confidence of the President had thought him equal. A shout of exultation at this result rang through the anti-republican papers from one end of the Union to the other. One might have supposed from the congratulations of these party-heated enthusiasts, that the salvation of the country had depended upon this decision of the senate and the disgrace of a humble, 'insignificant' individual. The republicans, on the other hand, were deeply grieved at this act of injustice, this raising of the ensign of proscription; the perfidy of the democratic senators who had suffered themselves to be deceived when they had the truth at their command, or who had wickedly and meanly betrayed the trust reposed in them, confiding in the secrecy of their executive proceedings to conceal their conduct from their abused constituents, was every where denounced. The President felt personally injured, and his real friends were astonished; while the people of New-Hampshire thought themselves insulted by the indignity which had been offered them in the person of their favorite. Mr. Hill did not allow himself to be deeply affected by an act which he knew must have been founded partly upon intentional deception and in part upon delusion; although he could not be indifferent at what he felt was intended as a direct and fatal stab at his reputation. He had surrendered a lucrative

business and an honorable situation at home, in compliance with the wishes of the President ; he now retired from his office, according to the constitutionally-expressed will of the senate, with as little parade and ostentation as he had, the preceding year, entered upon its duties. The rejection of Mr. Hill is to be imputed, as has been suggested, both to the effects of misrepresentation and the treachery of pretended friends. Mr. Hill could not feel that he had been advanced, by his appointment to the office of Second Comptroller ; or that such a station was higher than he deserved ; had it not been for his affection for the administration from whom he received this mark of respect, he would not have left his prosperous business in New-Hampshire for the honors and emoluments of this appointment. He had attended studiously to the duties of his office, instead of dancing upon the steps of the members of the senate, to secure their favor. As it afterwards proved, the event was fortunate. The day after his rejection, a re-consideration was moved by a member of the senate, but the motion was decided to be out of order, as the result had already been communicated to the Executive.*

* We subjoin a note for the information of those who may wish to learn something farther of the various influences that were combined in opposition to Mr. Hill.

Extract of a letter from one of our Delegation in Congress, dated

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1830.

Messrs. Hill and Barton—

The New-Hampshire Patriot arrived here yesterday, and I am happy to find that it speaks the sentiments of every democratic

We shall insert here, as a specimen of the views of the republicans upon this unwelcome event, a letter from a distinguished citizen then in Washington, written in the warmth of the moment, and before the first feelings of indignation at such an act of injustice and treachery had subsided :

Extract of a letter to the editor of the Patriot, dated

WASHINGTON, 14th April, 1830.

SIR—You will have heard before this reaches you, of the rejection by the Senate, of the nomination of your fellow citizen, Isaac Hill, as 2d Comptroller of the Treasury. The excitement produced here among the real friends of our venerable President, by this unexpected, unjust and unaccountable act, is very great.

I could say nothing which would increase the esti-

print in the Union, as far as I have been able to ascertain their views, in reference to the rejection of Mr. Hill by the Senate. Papers arrive here daily from almost every section of the country expressing regret, surprise and astonishment at this strange and unaccountable procedure of the Senate. It was to be expected, nay it was known, that Mr. Hill would be opposed, resisted, attacked and assailed on every side and quarter by the opposition, by every means that the ingenuity and cunning of a desperate and vindictive coalition could invent. No man having met and resisted the aristocracy of the country with more force and better effect than Mr. Hill, he was sure to draw about him the full vials of inbred rancor and deadly malignity of old Hartford Convention federalism, as well as the intrigue and corruption acquired by a base coalition. But that the friends of Democracy—the friends of the administration, should lend their aid to their most deadly enemies to effect the breaking down one of the pillars of democracy, giving a most deadly stab to the friends of the administration in New-Hampshire, and treating the wishes and views of the President with contumely and contempt, is to me strange. Nay, when I look for the causes, dictated by consistency and justifiable motives, it is to me passing strange—unaccountable.

I have sought for the reasons why Mr. Hill was rejected, and I have sought in vain. Is Mr. Hill honest, capable and faithful?—No one will answer in the negative and lay his finger upon the particular instance, and show wherein he has not proved himself so. Does he not sustain a fair moral character, eminently marked by a rigid adherence to truth and probity? No one can answer in the negative. Has he not rendered important services to his

mation in which Mr. Hill is held by the democracy of New-Hampshire. They remember his uniform, firm, inflexible and honest course in all trials and through all vicissitudes.

Who was it, that, when an apprentice, dared to raise his voice and wield his pen in support of democratic principles during the Embargo, even in opposition to the views and opinions of his master?

Who was it, that, in his first youthful essays as editor of the Patriot, rendered essential service in restoring to democracy the lost majority of your State, and effecting the election of the venerable Langdon to the office of Governor?

Who was it, that, during the last war, in defiance of denunciation, proscription, abuse and personal danger, manfully sustained the cause of his country, and paralysed the efforts of traitors in New-Hampshire?

Who was it, that, as soon as the war ended, again united with the democracy of your State, and gave it the ascendancy?

Who was it, that, in 1823—4, dared, almost alone, to raise his voice with the democracy of the South, in favor of the republican Crawford, and to condemn the

country, and has he not been incessantly engaged through an active life, thus far, in a defence of the equal rights of the people of all classes and professions? Every lover of freedom must answer in the affirmative.

Then why is he thus proscribed in the house of his friends?—Why should the cold hand of ingratitude be made to bear upon him at this time? Why is a life of strict integrity and devoted patriotism to be thus retributed? To these enquiries there is no reply—there can be no justifiable cause assigned.

The office was proffered to him with the best feelings and motives on the part of the President, not only towards Mr. Hill, but the democratic party in the north. The office, of itself, was of minor consideration to him personally. It was tendered unasked for by him, and accepted with much indifference and hesitancy. It was of immense more importance to the democracy of the country than to him, and by the special solicitations of his friends he was induced to accept the office.

To pretend that Mr. Hill's rejection is attributed to his being of the profession of a printer, and that he published Jonathan Russell's book, in which it is alleged there is a slander on Mrs. Adams, is all moonshine—mere fudge. I will not harbor so contemptible an opinion of any of our legislators or statesmen, as to suppose that any one, for a moment would attempt to gull the public with

amalgamating feeling which produced such fatal effects upon the purity of our government?

Who was it, that again dared, in defiance of sectional feelings and local prejudices, and in jeopardy of his own interests, to raise his voice with the democracy of the Middle States, the South and the West, and attempt to array the democrats of New-Hampshire and New-England in favor of the Hero of New-Orleans, and in support of purity of elections, and reform in the administration of the general government?

Who was it, that re-united the democracy of New-Hampshire, which the spirit of amalgamation had scattered, and brought it to support the present administration, almost as soon as it was organized?

Others may have acted conspicuous parts in these scenes; but it is no disparagement to them to say, that ISAAC HILL was the chief actor. Without his talents and perseverance, there is no man who will not say, that the democracy of New-Hampshire would have been, at this moment, as scattered and weak as is that of Vermont.

But the effects of his fidelity and perseverance have not been confined to his own State. The example of

such miserable subterfuge. No man of ordinary sagacity will presume to pass off such trash. It is too palpably absurd and silly to entitle it to one moment's serious reflection.

The causes which led to this result have not been fully developed, and probably never will be avowed. But enough has been disclosed, which with a variety of incidents and circumstances connected with this transaction, go to show that this business has not been done up with that strict regard for fairness, that an intelligent and high minded public have a right to expect or require. A feverish anxiety and fearful looking forward to great ulterior objects, has given a direction and led to this result. And if I am not much mistaken, certain individuals, in their overweening desire to control men and measures, have not only injured their cause, but have gotten themselves into a dilemma, out of which they will find it difficult to extricate themselves.

Report says, that Mr. Hill will be re-nominated, and will be approved by the Senate. But to this I give little heed or credit. Confident as I am, that this thrust at Mr. Hill will have precisely the reverse effect on him that its abettors intended—that instead of breaking him down or lessening his influence, it will tend to raise and elevate him still higher in every virtuous and patriotic mind; I feel quite indifferent as to what course may be observed towards him in this case.

New-Hampshire has operated with a powerful impulse upon her neighbors in New-England, and other States are rising from the inglorious thralldom into which they have been betrayed by amalgamation and political treachery.

The President thought fit to select this gentleman, so talented, so useful and so persevering, to aid him in a subordinate station in reforming the administration of this government and bringing it back to the principles and practices of the glorious days of Mr. Jefferson.—The office of 2d Comptroller was of little consequence to Mr. Hill; it was not much that the sterling democracy of the North should have one representative in the Executive, occupying a place of so little influence and importance. But they were satisfied—they were rallying with doubled force and more than redoubled vigor in support of Gen. Jackson.

What is Mr. Hill's reward? What is the democracy of New-England told? Not an imputation is cast upon his integrity, his capacity, or the purity of his political principles. It is not pretended that he has acted corruptly or even erred in the discharge of his public duties. On the contrary, it is well known that the office of 2d Comptroller, under his direction, has assumed an importance and an usefulness which it never before possessed. He had the full confidence of the President and every member of his cabinet. He had acquired the personal respect and esteem of all those with whom he was associated.

Yet is Mr. Hill rejected! By whom? Was it by the Adams men in a moment of accidental power? No; they had not the strength. He has fallen in the house of his friends. The enemies of all that is pure and talented in this administration have found allies among its professed friends. Men of the South who have always considered the democracy of the North as their natural allies, have turned upon and destroyed their friend and supporter. Even the Georgians, whose principles Mr. Hill defended when almost every other tongue was mute,

are said to have been conspicuous in this act of political murder.

What was the cause? Some went against him because he was an editor! What!—proscribe a man on account of the profession or occupation to which he belongs?—Even so! This is the *republicanism* of some men who call themselves republicans. To protect the purity of the press, they would proscribe its managers from offices of honor and profit like convicted felons, and thus throw it wholly into the hands of those who are willing to wear a *felon's brand*. Could a more fatal blow be struck at the dignity and independence of the press? Who that has honor, ambition or talents will seek subsistence or elevation through the management of the press, while the only reward of his complete success is to be *conspicuous infamy*? Who will hereafter stand forth to rally the democracy of New-Hampshire, or any other State against a corrupt administration, when the only return from his successful political associates is to be proscription and degradation? And who pronounces this sentence upon editors and printers? A few lawyers who thrust the editors and printers forward to fight their battles, and follow themselves, like plunderers upon the battle field, to gather the spoils. They do not hesitate to make political harangues and write for the newspapers themselves, to promote their own objects; and it is only when the fruits of victory are to be enjoyed, that they deem the printers and editors unworthy of office!—Will the people, the real democracy of the country, sanction a course so repugnant to sound policy, and the equal, constitutional rights of the managers of the press?

Rumor says, that other circumstances were brought to bear upon Mr. Hill—but they are either so frivolous or contemptible in their character, that I cannot believe they had any weight against Mr. Hill's merits and services, upon the minds of grave and honorable Senators. I shall be glad to find, that any of the Jackson men who voted against him, acted under some delusion which may

redeem them from the charge of ingratitude and injustice, to which they are now obnoxious.

It is impossible to know, what took place while the Senate were in secret session. There may be many palliating circumstances which open doors would disclose. But although every person in the secret conclave is sworn to secrecy, some malignant spirit loved the meets of vengeance so much more than he regarded the sanctity of his oath, that he enabled the opposition papers in this city to state the next morning, the precise vote by which Mr. Hill was rejected.

I assure you sir, *on my own personal knowledge*, that the President has entire confidence in Mr. Hill, and looks upon his rejection as *a blow aimed at himself*. He cannot protect those whom he honors with appointments, from combinations of designing men operating on the approving power—but the people can. Enjoying the confidence and esteem of the President and his whole cabinet, Mr. Hill returns to you with pure hands and an honest heart. Those who have been defeated in their ambitious designs by his perseverance; those who find the abuses by which they profited corrected by his vigilance; those who wish to destroy Gen. Jackson, defeat all reform and plunge our government into the sea of corruptions from which it has been redeemed, exult in Mr. Hill's rejection. But the **REAL** friends of the President and his principles, look to the people and Legislature of New-Hampshire to wipe away the stigma cast upon this just and true man, by the unjust and cruel vote of the Senate. Let them say, by an act so signal that it cannot be misunderstood, whether the President did wrong in the appointment of Mr. Hill, and whether a man so distinguished for his virtues, his talents and his services, is unworthy of public station.

I have faintly expressed what I feel. I am not a citizen of New-England; but I admire her democracy and will not silently see it proscribed. If I could make every democrat in New-Hampshire feel as I do, the reputation of Mr. Hill would soon be redeemed from the injustice of the Senate. But if I may judge what will be the

feelings of the friends of the President in New-Hampshire from those which are hourly exhibited by them here, they will not need to be stimulated by me. To the democracy of your State, I therefore commit him in perfect confidence that he will be redeemed, sustained, and placed on higher ground than he has ever before occupied.”*

And the confidence of the writer in the firmness of the democracy of New-Hampshire, was not misplaced. The term for which the Hon. Mr. Woodbury had been elected to the United States Senate, was soon to close ; and the Hillsborough Republican, a democratic paper printed at Am-

* We cannot refrain from adding the following tribute of respect for Mr. Hill, called forth by the event we are now commemorating, from the late brave soldier, General Henry Leavenworth ; whose remains were this spring brought to his native State, New-York, from the wilds of the west, and interred amid the united testimonials of sorrow, paid to his memory by thousands of grateful citizens :

Jefferson Barracks, May 6, 1830.

Dear Sir—Every friend of his country who belongs to these United States and who knows and recollects the valuable services of Isaac Hill, as editor of the New-Hampshire Patriot, during the late war, must regret the rejection of his nomination to be second Comptroller of the Treasury.

Isaac Hill with his New-Hampshire Patriot, did more than any other man known to me, to put down the “Washington Benevolent” and “Peace Societies” during the war.

While one of these Societies was celebrating their anniversaries or attempting to prostitute the birth-day of the father of his country, to their unholy purposes of opposition to their country, at Burlington, Vermont, on the 22d of February, 1813, the spirit stirring influence of Isaac Hill with his Patriot, contributed to induce thirteen hardy “Green Mountain boys” to go in a body to the writer of this letter and enlist for “during the war.”

Services like these should be known and remembered.

I confess that I feel proud of having made the enlistment, but the credit due to Mr. Hill, is as far above that to which I am entitled, as that due to the able and scientific performer upon an organ is above that of him who blows the bellows.

I am, Sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

H. LEAVENWORTH.

herst, the scene of Mr. Hill's youthful days, almost immediately nominated him as the successor of Mr. Woodbury, in the following article :

“ HON. ISAAC HILL.

The most prominent news of the day is the unexpected information that the HON. ISAAC HILL has been rejected by the Senate of the United States from the office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury, to which he was appointed by the President. The whole body of the *Aristocracy* are now in extacies, whether found in the federal ranks or falsely disguised within the republican limits—endeavoring to cloak treachery to the cause, and ingratitude to one of the most intrepid and successful advocates of the party with false and deceptive pretensions. They are shouting and exulting as did the Philistines of old when they had shorn Sampson of his locks and deprived him of the light of heaven. But these locks will grow again, and he will rise, like *Anteus*, with renovated and redoubled vigor. His *pretended friends* may have furnished him with a poisoned shirt from the wardrobe of *Deianira*, but he will be found as invulnerable as *Achilles*. And he will yet pull down the pillars of the Temple of Federalism, and prostrate his enemies in the dust, though he should perish in the attempt. His zeal is of the true, untiring, undeviating cast—appalled by no terrors, embarrassed by no difficulties—and his abilities are equal to his zeal. The Democracy of New-Hampshire cannot dispense with his services; and if the Senate of the United States will not confirm him in the office to which he was appointed, they shall have him as a member of their own body—to scrutinize their conduct, to control their excesses, and to prevent their prostituting the republican name and cause by patronizing *federal principles*. We have no hesitation in predicting that he will have the support of the whole republican interest both in and out of the legislature of New-Hampshire as a candidate for the vacancy in the Senate of the United States—and he will be chosen.

It is in vain to attempt the contrary. The people of this State too well know, and too highly appreciate his services to suffer him to be persecuted and sacrificed by the federalists. To the PEOPLE of New-Hampshire it is no objection that he is a *mechanic*, a *printer*—that he was never bred a lawyer;—and that he is second to none of that class for political information and influence—they consider as no dishonor to the native talents or assiduous application of Mr. HILL—no disgrace to the Granite State. Nor do they impute to him as a crime that he has been a successful advocate of democracy, or look upon him with a suspicious eye because his influence has contributed so much to enlighten the public mind, and to curb the aspiring aristocrats. We therefore, with the fullest confidence in the abilities, integrity, and undeviating patriotism of a long tried and approved friend of the Republican cause, do nominate and announce the HON. ISAAC HILL as candidate for the appointment of Senator of the United States, for the State of New-Hampshire, to serve from the 4th day of March next for the term of six years.”

This nomination was eagerly seconded by the republican papers throughout New-Hampshire; and indeed those in the neighboring States could not refrain from expressing their wishes that he might be elected. Mr. Hill arrived in Concord early in June, and on the ninth of the same month was elected to the Federal Senate, by the concurrence of both branches of the legislature.—The vote was as follows: In the House of Representatives, for Mr. Hill, 117; scattering republican votes, 24; opposition of every shape, 79. In the Senate, the vote was nine to three.

The joy of the republicans at this event, was universally expressed in the publications of the day. The chagrin of those who, by promoting

the rejection of Mr. Hill, had unwittingly advanced him to one of the highest offices in the gift of the people of a State, was equally general and was manifested in the denunciations, the slanders and the ribaldry, which were poured, now upon Mr. Hill, now upon the President, now upon the Legislature of New-Hampshire. To show the views of the republicans in a part of the Union where no sectional feelings could have operated, in relation to the election of Mr. Hill, we subjoin a short extract from a newspaper, which has since, by some fair business transaction, or other curious metamorphosis, received new light and imbibed a totally different opinion of the character of Mr. Hill,—and strange to say, of the whole democratic party :

Extract from the N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.

“ ELECTION OF ISAAC HILL.

It is with the most lively satisfaction we announce the election of ISAAC HILL as a Senator in Congress for six years, from the State of New-Hampshire ; an event which we hail as the greatest triumph of the freedom of the press, of the voice of the people, and of the unalienable rights of the citizens, which has occurred since the revolutionary war. The vote stood for Mr. Hill in the Assembly 117 out of 220, and in the Senate 9 out of 12. There was no want of federal lobby members from other States to produce a different result, but justice triumphed. And what is there in the case of Isaac Hill, it may be asked in Europe and America, that makes his election to the Senate, as a matter of so much triumph, of so much unalloyed gratification ? We will tell his story. Isaac Hill is a printer, and was the editor of the New-Hampshire Patriot.—He was always the friend of his country and of its republican institutions, and when that country during the late war, was about to be sold by traitors to the enemy ;

when the war was declared 'wicked and unjustifiable,' and the Hartford Convention meditated the formation of a separate treaty with England, his voice was heard in the Granite State and in the mountains of Vermont, animating the people, and arousing them to a just sense of their danger and the blessings of freedom. He was a thorn in the side of the Tories, and although living in the hot-bed of the opposition, he pursued his course fearlessly, independently, and successfully. He was a democrat, not manufactured from the changeable silks of the day, but born such, and his political consistency has never been questioned. He supported Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Crawford, and finally took an early stand in favor of the man who has shed his blood for his country and covered her arms with glory.— This Isaac Hill, the father of a family—a freeman of his State—a citizen of the Union—one who had represented his State in the Senate—a man of unsullied private character, was nominated by the President of the United States as one of the Comptrollers of the Treasury, and by a foul plot got up by Tazewell and Tyler of Virginia, Iredell of North Carolina, and Smith of South Carolina, he was rejected by the Senate because he was an *Editor* and a *Printer*. It is true that several Jackson Senators also voted against him, but that arose from a false accusation that he had written some calumnies against Mrs. Adams—which objection was set up to cover the real design of hostility to the Editors. And what is the result? The people of the State of New-Hampshire, one of the thirteen Continental States, have, through their representatives in the Legislature, sent Isaac Hill to take his seat for six years in that very Senate where an attempt was made to disgrace him forever. A sovereign and independent State has, by this act, *punished* those very Senators who "felt power and forgot right." Were we in the place of Isaac Hill, we would reject the Presidency of the United States if attainable, to enjoy the supreme triumph—the pure—the unalloyed,—the legitimate victory of stalking into that very Senate and taking our seat—of looking our enemies in the very eye—of saying to the men who violated their oaths by attempting to disfranchise citizens, "give me room—stand back—

do you know me? I am that Isaac Hill of New-Hampshire, who, in this very spot you slandered, vilified, and stript of his rights—the people, your *masters*, have sent me here to take my seat in this very chamber as your equal and your peer.”

This is indeed a triumph—a glorious triumph to the conductors of the press throughout our country; every editor, every printer will feel it as such, although from circumstances, many may not be able to express it. It was a traitorous ground of objection and assumed only to reach an officer who would not sanction the robbery of the public money. The four Senators implicated in this conspiracy, though strong in pride, and fortified by the aristocracy of the country, will never get over the blow—and will never be permitted tranquilly to exercise power in the government, while a type and a printing press exist.”

In 1831, at the spring election, Mr. Hill was supported by the democrats of Concord for the honorary, though laborious office of moderator of the town meeting. The town had long been federal, and it was supposed that his nomination for the only station which he could constitutionally accept, might have a favorable influence on the result of the election. The regeneration of the capital of the State, was however reserved for another year. Mr. Hill and the other republican candidates were defeated by a very close vote.

Mr. Hill passed the summer of 1831 at Concord. The federal papers persisted in ascribing to him the most unbounded influence over the people of New-Hampshire, and even over the general government. It was, certainly, either highly complimentary to him, or else tantamount to an insult upon the common sense of the rep-

representatives of the State, assembled in legislature, to cry aloud,—did Mr. Hill chance to take his seat in the gallery with other citizens,—that *Dictation* was the motive of his presence; that he had placed himself there to overawe an assemblage of two hundred freemen! If their accounts could be credited, scores of faithless postmasters were daily dismissed by the interference of this same universal meddler—a man, who must have had more hands than the fabled Briareus of old, or must have possessed the power of dictating to a dozen scribes simultaneously, to have transacted all the multitudinous and diverse affairs, which were attributed to his agency. Two thirds,—perhaps a much larger proportion of the pungency of the editorial matter of the opposition papers in this State, would be lost, were the word *dictation*, struck from their vernacular. It is to them, what has long been to chemists a desideratum, a universal solvent, by which can be explained every movement not otherwise intelligible; a sort of picklock of such curious shape and construction, as to throw open every mystery in the political moves of the day, however guarded or abstruse.

In August of this year, General Timothy Upham, late Collector of Portsmouth, almost Governor of the State, and “a brave and gallant officer of the last war,” made a display of his bravery and gallantry in the streets of Exeter. He attacked Mr. Hill, exclaiming, “*You are the d—d rascal to whom I owe all my misfortunes for the last three years,*” and struck him several blows with a cowskin. Had he not been driven to desperation

by the exposure of his illegal acts, and the consequent loss of his reputation, nothing could have induced a man of giant frame, possessing the least spark of honor in his composition, to assault one, like Mr. Hill, small in person, lame and destitute of bodily strength. But all that has been made known of Upham's character, and the deliberate manner in which the act was perpetrated, make it very evident, that he had taken all these things into account, before he had dared to make the attack. Otherwise, he would doubtless have singled out some individual, who had been more directly concerned in bringing the smuggling papers to light, than had been Mr. Hill. The late John P. Decatur procured the papers, carried them to Washington, and by their evidence obtained the dismissal of Mr. Upham from the office of Collector. When Mr. U. was put in nomination for Governor, and his claims as a veteran soldier and *patriot* urged upon the public, Mr. Hill, at the request of the editor of the Patriot, procured the documents and sent them on for publication.— This was the head and front of his offending. But—he was a *lame man*; and Mr. Upham determined to wreak his vengeance upon him for the loss of his collectorship, of his election as Governor, and subsequently as representative of the town of Portsmouth. To all these misfortunes, has since been added the virtual loss of a libel suit which Mr. U., to sustain his declaration of innocence, had commenced against the publishers of the Patriot. He is now, and doubtless will ever remain, in private life, and had it not been for this dastardly act of mingled cowardice and

meanness, his name would probably never again be brought before the public. The act was universally deprecated by every man possessing "decency and respectability," though there have not been wanting individuals of the very party who exclusively arrogate to themselves these qualities of a gentleman, that have exulted at this cowskinning of a senator, and have cast it in his face as a reproach. The manner in which Mr. Hill received the infliction, is truly in accordance with the pacific character of the man.— He made not the least shadow of resistance, took no notice at all of the affair, and made no complaint; but the Grand Jury, then in session at Exeter, preferred an indictment against the offender, who was fined by the court. The protection of the *law* should ever be preferred to a resort to violence.

Mr. Hill, this year, received from the Executive of New-Hampshire the appointment of Justice of Peace and Quorum throughout the State. To this office, under the present organization of government, few positive duties are necessarily attached. It is usually tendered to those who have made themselves eminent in the service of the people, as a mark of respect for their character and virtues. Mr. Hill had been in the commission of the peace as early as 1820.

In December, Mr. Hill took his seat in that body, which had vainly hoped to disgrace him in the eyes of the American people. He appeared upon the floor of the Senate of the United States, in the humble garb of a printer, and with the modest yet decided air of a man conscious of the uprightness of his motives. He owed his place

to the affections of the people of New-Hampshire ; the very same people who had been showering upon him the gifts of fortune and the blessings of an honorable fame for more than a quarter of a century. The extent of his deep and heartfelt obligations towards that public from whom he had received so many benefits, he was never disposed to conceal. He had ever seized upon all suitable opportunities to make an expression of his acknowledgments. Yet was he never lavish of words and thanks ; he relied upon his actions as the surest and safest indications of the sincerity of his professions. He had made a firm resolution never to desert his principles ; he had, like the Carthaginian general of old, been sworn in early youth upon the altar of republicanism and equal rights. He felt fully the importance of his high situation. He felt that he was raised to such a station to see, in the words of the great Roman orator, *ne quid respublica capiat detrimentum*, that he might guard the republic from injury. He felt, too, that the eyes of jealous rivals,—men who had conspired to humble him,—were fixed upon him, anxiously anticipating his every act and expression, to convert them to his dishonor. He knew what their sentiments were towards him ; that many who treated him with every external mark of respect, only awaited some error of conduct or of speech to pour out upon him the full fervor of their malignity. If detected in fault, he felt that he could expect no indulgence ;

“ If I once fall, how many knees, now bending,
Would stamp the heel of hate into my breast.”

In the early part of January, he attended the festival of the Columbia Typographical Society, held at Washington, and made some remarks in relation to the 'mystical art' of printing. Mr. Hill has always felt and manifested deep interest in every thing relating to this, the profession of his choice. It was, we believe, in the course of the ensuing summer, that he gave a history of the rise and progress of the art, in an address before the Concord branch of the New-Hampshire Lyceum.

In February, Mr. Hill made long and able speeches upon the Tariff question, then the all-engrossing topic in the National legislature.—Perhaps, no succeeding effort of his has ever displayed such extent of research, such clearness and certainty of knowledge, such exactness in statements of facts, and such lucid inferences from those statements, as characterize these productions—his first great effort in the Senate.—They were widely circulated throughout the country; no citizen of New-Hampshire found cause in them to blush for his representative. They were able, disinterested; practical and plain, and created much excitement, particularly among those gentry who had anticipated food for mirth, and a fit subject for ridicule in the productions of a printer—a mechanic—a man who was absolutely obliged to *read* his speeches. Such men, if any such there were, met with a woful disappointment. They found that a self-taught laborer of New-England could display as much sound sense, and could write in a style as attractive, because more plain and simple, than many a son

of luxury ; many a fortunate individual who had been nursed in the lap of indulgence ; had been trained from the cradle for contests of intellect and the debates of the forum ; who possessed powerful patrons, through whom to ensure advancement ;

———“ who, for cousins,
Could count up Congress-men by dozens.”

Mr. Walsh of the National Gazette, finding no better objection, displayed his aristocratic feelings by a sneer at Mr. Hill as being a *self-educated* man, and at his speeches, as the work of a mechanic. We wish our limits would allow our placing these lengthy speeches entire in the Appendix ; they are of such a nature—an unbroken chain of argument,—that no extracts would prove satisfactory.

In the spring, Mr. Hill made a short yet able argument upon the Pension Bill. In his views as developed in this speech,* he powerfully seconded the efforts of his present colleague, Mr. Hubbard, then in the House. He proved himself sound in his views of national polity and national gratitude, and has earned the affections of every surviving patriot of the Revolution and of every man who feels a heartfelt desire to assist in smoothing the downward course of those few ancients who have outlived their day and generation and remain to us the only monuments of the days and the spirit of Revolutionary times.—His feelings were with them ; the blood that ran in his veins, was tinged with the patriotism of

* See Appendix G.

that stormy era. Mr. Hill made also, during this session, a lengthy speech upon the Apportionment Bill, in which he opposed as illegal and unconstitutional, the principle of the representation of fractions; for which doctrines, although no arguments can be adduced that gainsay them, he has received his full measure of abuse. A proposition having been brought up,—apparently for no other design than further to embarrass the Post Office Department, whose mails were already loaded down with documents franked by honorable senators and representatives, and through its unavoidable misfortunes, to throw odium upon an administration, which had as yet done nothing, that, fairly explained, was obnoxious to the feelings and sentiments of the American people,—to abolish entirely the postage upon newspapers, Mr. Hill opposed the measure with all his strength. He displayed his love of economy; he wished to carry out those principles of reform, to secure which, he had done his humble part in supporting the present administration and in opposing Mr. Adams. He demonstrated the ruinous tendency of such a system; that it would sap the very life-blood, the vital principle of the administration of the Post Office. The tax at present was but small, hardly sufficient to restrain the circulation of newspapers within proper limits; if removed, the mails would be overloaded with ephemeral publications. Mr. Hill would naturally have been expected to support the other side; in the general circulation of newspapers and of political intelligence, his whole life had been spent, and all his feelings were enlisted. But the good of

his country was a greater consideration than the gratification of his own selfish or personal predilections. In this, he displayed a disinterestedness, similar if not equal to that involved in his efforts against the American System. He warmly opposed high protective duties, as being inconsistent with true republican principles, as being unnecessary and inexpedient; and yet, at that very time, a considerable part of his property was vested in the manufacturing business. He alluded to this circumstance in his speech, not as a vindication of his motives, but to sustain him in some statements of facts. At the close of Mr. Hill's speech on the Postage bill, a personal and vindictive attack was made upon him by Mr. Clayton, and the notorious John Holmes of Maine. Mr. Hill was not afraid to state the reasons for the faith that was in him, and to the ungenerous, ungentlemanly remarks which had been made, apparently for the purpose of frightening him from his principles, he returned a happy reply :

SPEECH OF MR. HILL OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE,

In Senate, May 14, 1832, in reply to Messrs. Clayton and Holmes, on the bill to establish certain Post Roads, and discontinue others.

As while this bill was under consideration, before the Committee of the Whole, an attack, unprecedented, I hope and believe, in the annals of this Legislature, upon any member, was made upon me, I feel bound, as a duty which I owe to the people of the State whose voice sent me here, to ask liberty of the Senate to offer my explanation and defence. I do it, at this time, at the suggestion of my friends : for really, when the gentlemen had finished each his labored and studied effort,

concocted it may be in this House, it may be over the midnight lamp, I did not consider any thing intended for me, beyond the merits of the question then under consideration, as worthy of an answer.

It should be recollected, that I had made no attack, personally, on either the Senator from Delaware, [Mr. Clayton,] or the Senator from Maine, [Mr. Holmes:] I noticed the previous arguments of both, as I thought, in a respectful manner: and as one of the gentlemen had, in my opinion, strayed far from the question, I intended nothing offensive to him in the pleasant allusion for which I was interrupted by the Chair, by endeavoring to account for that, and in expressing the hope that he might, when in a different situation, be better satisfied, if not with this wicked administration, with the wicked world at least.

If the Senators from Delaware and Maine are not pleased with my manner, nor with my appearance, nor yet with my principles, I can assure the gentlemen I am no better pleased with theirs. As Senators, I respect them; as individuals, when I shall seek their good opinions or their kind offices, or ask for or need their mercy, I might be disappointed if I expected either: their good opinions, their kind offices and their mercy, however, will come when I shall ask for them.

The Senator from Delaware, on whom I have at no time made an unkind remark in this body, charges me with a violation of the rules of the Senate by sometimes reading what I have to say; and asks if such punishments as hearing me are to be inflicted on, and to be endured by, the Senate. If I am permitted to act at all in this body, I will assure the gentleman I shall take my own way to do it; and that will be always, except in justifiable defence, to communicate in as short and concise a manner as possible what relates to the question under consideration.

The time has been, Mr. President, in other legislative bodies than this, when I have participated in debate without confining myself to notes of any sort; and I have the best reasons to believe that I there discharged

my duty acceptably to those who placed me there. To those who placed me here am I now accountable; I have a right here to consume, if I so choose, as much time as the Senator from Delaware or even the Senator from Maine. I shall not, however, do that. My views on the post office bill were given by the request of other gentlemen. I should not have volunteered even on that question, had not gentlemen older than myself desired it of me.

I might, Mr. President, talk in my way, without note or scrip, for three days, if it was my purpose to throw embarrassment on public measures, and to prevent the business of the legislature from proceeding. In that time I might drag into this body, on almost any question, the characters of persons who are absent and who cannot stand here in their defence. I might misrepresent almost every fact connected with the government or its administration; and I might (if the Chair would suffer me to proceed) misrepresent and falsify the conduct and character of honorable Senators themselves. But, so long as reason holds her empire in the breast, I never can, I never will do this: respect for myself, respect for the people I represent, nay, sir, respect for the Senate, will forbid it.

If I have violated the rules of the Senate, surely that has been an error of the head—not of the heart. I supposed, Mr. President, that all Senators, so long as they have used decent language, had the liberty of speech. I did not suppose the gag-law was to be applied to one member, while other members were permitted to say what they pleased. If we have here a privileged class, I am yet to learn in what part of the constitution or laws that privileged class is designated.

The Senator from Maine avowed his object to be that I should be silenced, and that I must expect to be lacerated and whipped into silence. Does he know the kind of man he is dealing with? Does he know that what man dare do for the public welfare, the man by him assailed dare? Does he know that man has never quailed under the assaults of men more potent than any who

have assailed him here, in times even more trying than these ?

If I sometimes *read an essay*, (as the gentleman term it,) it is for the advantage of the Senate, if they hear me at all; for, otherwise I might talk many hours, and even days, without throwing much light on the subject. I might repeat stale jokes and jibes, if I had ever learnt them, and edify a crowd of young men or ladies, who relished and admired such jokes and jibes. I might exhaust the vocabulary of billingsgate, and display all the talent of the vulgar, drunken blackguard, if I had ever studied his language, and made it a model for my imitation. The Senate had much better bear with me in a concise argument, such as I can most conveniently present to them, than take me as a pugilist or gladiator in a different field.

I do not, Mr. President, deviate from the parliamentary practice. There is a rule of the Senate that "no member shall speak more than twice, in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the Senate." How often is this rule of the Senate violated ? Yet, I suppose, because the rule is violated without objection, it is considered no violation. It is a rule of the British parliament that "no one is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously or tediously." Is that rule ever transgressed here ? Another rule of the Senate is : "No member shall speak to another, or otherwise interrupt the business of the Senate, or read any printed paper while the journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate." Is that rule ever violated ? I know of no rule which precludes a member from writing down what he is going to say ; but I do know, if some speakers had written down all they did say, and that writing were published, the world might be astonished.

In some of the first parliamentary bodies of the world, speeches are written out and read as they are written.—I have seen myself one of the most eminent lawyers read his argument in a case requiring precision. In the French Chamber of Deputies, I am told by those who

have attended there, a larger part of the speeches are read from the rostrum. The speeches of that great and exalted man, Lafayette—speeches which are translated into our language, and admired on this side of the Atlantic—are thus delivered. Shall it be said, under despotic France, there was a liberty of discussion in her legislative assemblies which is not allowed in the American Senate? Should I be precluded, as other Senators are not, from my own method of delivering my sentiments to this Senate, I shall not desist from attempting to present my views on every occasion when it may be necessary to explain my motives of action to the people I represent. I will not, however, do as others do, say even more than I now say, and be compelled to lay afterwards perhaps entirely a different speech before the people.

My purpose, Mr. President, was not to retort on the Senators from Delaware and Maine, language in kind. Humble as I am, I would not do it if I could; and my associations in life have not been of that *polished* cast as to enable me to do it if I would. The bandying of epithets, the reproaches for being what God and nature have made us, never was and never shall be, in any legislative body, any part of my business.

Both of the Senators have done me injustice when they impute to me an unprovoked attack upon the profession of the law, to which profession the Senator from Maine claims to be an ornament—"a burning and shining light." I spoke of that profession in terms of respect; there are many gentlemen belonging to it who have been and who continue to be my friends. The Senators know full well that printers and editors have been singled out for attack repeatedly in this body; that they commenced the onset in this debate. I repelled the onset by saying that there were men of *another profession* as obnoxious to censure (if censure was due any where) as the printers and editors of newspapers. For stating what was fact, forty-three of forty-eight gentlemen are appealed to, that they may arise in judgment against me. Of these forty-three gentlemen I will believe there

is at least a moiety who will not assume, that purity, and integrity, and talent, and intelligence, belong exclusively to any one class of men, or that there is in this free country any class whose privileges are superior to all others. "Taunts upon the profession" I deny having made. I might have said there are lawyers who are very stupid, and illiterate, and ignorant. I might have said there are others who are profligate and depraved—others who are supercilious and abusive;—and I could have cited the authority of lawyers themselves to prove as much as this. But I offered no such provocation to that respectable profession.

I will only say in answer to the Senator from Delaware, that if he charges me as being one of a firm in the State of New-Hampshire, who receive in profits from a contract for printing for the Post Office Department, \$3000 per annum, the charge is not true.—I do not now, I never did belong to any firm, that ever had a contract of the kind. Nor is there, to my knowledge, any firm in that State that ever has received to the amount of one thousand dollars on any such contract.

Further I will say, that if he charges on me the removal of fifty Postmasters in New-Hampshire, that is also equally untrue. The changes that have been made in New-Hampshire, were made in consequence of petitions that were presented by the citizens interested—they were made, as I believe, for good and sufficient cause; and a vast majority of the people of that State sustain the administration which made those changes.

Further—if the Senator intended to say that I am a contractor under the Post Office Department for any amount, that is not true. I have been concerned in no mail contract since the commencement of the present administration.

Further still—if the Senator intended to say that any connexion of mine, by birth or marriage, has been placed in any office by the present administration, on my peti-

tion or request made either to the President or a head of any Department, this also is not true.

If I am correctly informed, one of the gentlemen named as a connexion of mine, and the fearful responsibility of whose appointment is thrown upon me, received that appointment through the especial interference of the Senator from Maine, during the administration of Mr. Monroe; and of this I believe the papers at the Treasury would furnish evidence.

The Senator from Maine, as if the word of one were not sufficient, has also reiterated these and other allegations. He described a person as having had for years mail contracts to the amount of thirty thousand dollars annually, as being a contractor for a large section of country, and as having farmed out the contracts to the disadvantage and injury of those who performed the labor. If he intended me by his description, I must say that the statement is as void of truth as was the statement and charges against the Post Office Department, read from the newspaper printed in the State of Maine, since the commencement of this debate. For eighteen years that I was a contractor under the administrations of Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Adams, those contracts, according to the best of my recollection, never exceeded in amount in any one year, the sum of three thousand dollars; and on these contracts I never received as my commission for risque and responsibility exceeding five per cent. Since January 1, 1829, I have been interested in no contract.

If the Senator from Maine intended the Senate to understand that I ever called on the President of the United States, to ask him either for the office which he tendered me, or any other office, or to remove any officer that I might fill his place, that also is untrue.

The concerns of an individual, I am well aware, ought not here to be introduced. But since, without provocation, my motives in supporting this bill as it is, have been impeached, my integrity questioned, my good name blackened and defamed, I feel bound to repel, in the same public manner they were made, accusations which

have neither truth nor the semblance of truth for their foundation.

The Senator from Maine, since the commencement of the present session, has read to the Senate many extracts from newspapers. He will permit me to read a few lines, they are from a newspaper printed in his own county. The article I would read was pointed out to him the other day as he passed my seat, and he said it was right; meaning I presume, that the Editor of the paper [the Saco Democrat] had truly represented the case. Here it is.

"We have frequently had occasion to speak of the *extreme modesty* of our Senator in Congress the *honorable* John Holmes. This is a quality possessed by him in an eminent degree, and can be equalled only by his admirable consistency. The latest display of our Senator's *modesty* is to be found in a letter of his, written under a Washington date of Feb. 4. In alluding to his reply to a speech of Mr. Hill, our *modest* Senator says:

"After Mr. Hill had finished *reading his piece*, which cost the Senate near three hours of their time, Mr. Holmes rose and in less than ten minutes gave the fellow such a scourging as he never had before. Upham's chastisement was a flea-bite to it.

"As Mr. Holmes was very deliberately administering the chastisement, a Senator turned to Mr. Dickerson—'Governor,' said he, 'is this shaving or *skinning*?' Dickerson replied, 'By the Lord it is *skinning*.'"

"What a great pity it is that Mr. Holmes cannot procure some competent person to blow the trumpet for him. How *awfully* Mr. Hill must have felt when Mr. Holmes was 'putting it on.' How very strange that 'not a creature present entertained the least sympathy for him.'"

If the Senator calls his former attempt *skinning* what will he denominate his last attack? Is it any thing less than assault and battery, with intent to murder? I will assure the gentleman, that in that section of the country where both of us are best known, his warlike instruments, his tomahawk and scalping knife, are both point-less and edgeless. His weapons, in that region, like the muskets of Hudibras,

"When aimed at duck or plover,
Bear wide and kick their owner over."

Mr. Hill returned from this long and busy ses-

sion of Congress, with a consciousness that he had endeavored in all things to do his duty ; that he had not intentionally swerved from his principles. His constituents were well pleased with his course, and with the exertions which he had made to support those principles that brought the administration into power ; and on his return, arrangements were made for giving him some public demonstration of their respect for his character and services. He met his friends at a public dinner in Concord, in August, and in a lengthy speech, reviewed with a masterly hand the proceedings, the apparent motives and the proposed measures of the opposition in Congress. So many severe truths were contained in this production, as to form a compound exceedingly unpalatable to those who felt themselves implicated in his denunciations. For this speech,* the federal party declared that he deserved expulsion from the Senate.

At the short session of 1833-4, Mr. Hill's principal effort in the Senate, was a lengthy speech upon Mr. Clay's Land Bill, delivered on the 22d Jan. 1834. We have placed some extracts elsewhere,† which, we think, will repay a perusal by the information which they contain of the motives of Mr. Hill and the just views which he entertained of the evil consequences which must necessarily ensue from a measure like the one proposed.

Our venerable President, in the summer of

* See Appendix H.

† See Appendix I.

1833, took occasion to pay a visit to the eastern States, and learn something of the extent of their resources and the character of the inhabitants, from actual inspection. The patriot-soldier was every where received with demonstrations of the most profound respect. All parties, with commendable candor, and in a spirit of concession, joined their exertions to render the journey of the chief magistrate, pleasant and agreeable. The old hero expressed, in glowing terms, his gratification at the kind and flattering manner of his reception, and the variety of attentions which were shown him. He arrived at Concord during the session of the legislature, was received by that body in its official character and introduced separately to each of its members. He made the capital of New-Hampshire the limit of his journey. When he left, he was accompanied for a short distance, by Mr. Hill, who then, with Gov. Cass, Secretary of War, proceeded on a journey to the western country. He was gone a few weeks, visiting Montreal, Quebec, Detroit, &c. in his course. Many were the ingenious and fanciful conjectures that were made, of the causes, the mystery of this wonderful step. It was shrewdly supposed that Mr. Hill intended by this act to declare himself in favor of Gov. Cass for the succession to the Presidency, to assist him in his electioneering operations, and to assure Mr. Van Buren that it would be hopeless for him to seek aid at his hands. The only real motives of his tour were to gratify his curiosity and improve his health. Much of the territory, he had visited several years before, and he was now desirous of

witnessing the wonderful improvements which had, even in that short period, been introduced into this fruitful region, and of examining the natural resources of the country, the vast growth of its population, the beauty of its numerous villages, the grandeur of its scenery, and its capacity for further improvement.

In the autumn, the Secretary of the Treasury caused the public deposits to be removed from the Bank of the United States, and placed in certain local banks in different parts of the Union. In the words of the President, this step was taken from a belief, that "it was established by unquestionable proof that the Bank of the United States was converted into a permanent electioneering engine." The violent opposition made by the friends of the Bank, an institution whose existence may be truly considered as the last hope and refuge of a domineering aristocracy, all will remember. Their alarm was natural, but the unprincipled means which they immediately adopted to frighten the people into a demand for the restoration of the deposits, must ever be considered as worthy the severest censure. In the words of the message just quoted from, "at this time, the efforts of the Bank to control public opinion through the distresses of some and the fears of others, are equally apparent, and, if possible, more objectionable. By a curtailment of its accommodations more rapid than any emergency requires, and even while it retains specie to an almost unlimited amount in its vaults, it is attempting to produce great embarrassment in

one portion of the community, while, through presses known to have been sustained by its money, it attempts, by unfounded alarms, to create a panic in all." The Secretary and the President were sustained by the universal approval of the republican party. They, one and all, had long been convinced, not merely of the danger of such a powerful, I had almost written omnipotent, moneyed institution, in the very vitals of the republic, and, with its branches in every city of the Union, exerting an unseen though none the less effective, influence over the whole community, through her moneyed men, but also of the absolute rottenness, the profligate management of the particular one then existing. Apparently secure in the consciousness of its power, the violations of its charter, of law and of the constitution, were hardly attempted to be concealed even by a resort to subterfuge. The doctrine was openly maintained and zealously defended, that the money of the stockholders and of the government, might lawfully and properly be converted to the vilest electioneering purposes, to a profligate abuse of the administration, to subsidizing a venal press and securing the aid of unprincipled editors, to the circulation of violent partizan pamphlets and to the injury of government by thwarting its plans, turning its property to base uses, forcibly seizing upon its funds, and dishonoring its drafts abroad.

It was apparent to all that a stormy session was approaching. It was evident that an attempt was to be made to rouse the country into an attitude of resistance to the measures of the gov-

ernment, to create a panic, to cause real distress throughout the mercantile community, and to take advantage of the universal excitement thus produced, to ensure the downfall of the administration and the triumph of the Bank. The friends of democracy prepared themselves for the crisis. Mr. Hill left for Washington in November. In December, the Message of the President and the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury furnished materials for the commencement of the wordy struggle, which was continued for several months, backed up by stereotyped panic memorials, the efforts of a bank-bought press, and the direct influence of that unwieldy institution upon the financial operations and commercial credit of the maritime cities. Against these combined influences, the republicans both in and out of Congress displayed an energy and firmness truly surprising. The House of Representatives remained true to their principles and their President, while the majority of the Senate, by their profligate conduct, have rendered that branch of the government an object of suspicion in the eyes of the people, who cannot but feel that it is a body far too independent of their will ; of the only real, natural source of authority.

New-Hampshire was perhaps as little affected by the artificial excitement of this memorable period as any other State in the Union. She had too much confidence in the wisdom and fidelity of her delegated servants to believe them less desirous to promote their prosperity and the happiness of the whole country, than a soulless moneyed corporation. By previous conceit and

considerable exertion, a panic memorial, signed by the federalists of Portsmouth, was indeed procured, and was presented to the Senate in due form by the recreant son of New-Hampshire who was misrepresenting her in the councils of the nation. Mr. Hill had received information of the character of this memorial, the manner of getting it up and the standing of the signers, and after Mr. Bell had finished his doleful picture of the distress of Portsmouth as evinced in the statements of this memorial, he arose, told what he knew of it, exposed its true character, and made known so many unpleasant, yet undeniable truths, that Mr. Bell did not think it prudent to venture any reply.

On the third and fourth of March, Mr. Hill delivered in the Senate, an exposition of his views at length, on this all-important subject. The document is one of great interest, and carries upon its face evidence of great research and a thorough examination. That perseverance, which forms so valuable and prominent a trait in the character of Mr. Hill, was never more strikingly developed than in the acts of his public life. He gave no subject half his mind, or a divided attention. Upon whatever topic he directed his investigations, he probed it to the bottom and examined it in all its bearings. His speech upon the removal of the deposits is a striking illustration of this statement. It takes up the subject in every light in which it could be viewed or in which it had been considered ; it gives every part its proper prominence, and weighs thoroughly every objection. We have placed a few extracts from this speech, which are not necessarily con-

nected with any part of the lengthy argument, in the appendix. One of them will be found to give a complete statement of the difficulty with the Portsmouth Bank in 1829, which Daniel Webster has declared to have been the commencement of the feud with the Bank, and in which Mr. Hill was concerned.*

Mr Hill remained steadfast throughout all the extraordinary movements which characterized this session. He never deserted his post in the Senate, but was willing to incur all the responsibility that could attach to a conscientious vote. He opposed the unconstitutional impeachment of the President and sided with his republican friends in denouncing such an unjustifiable encroachment upon the rights of the Executive.

On the eleventh of June, he made a speech upon the Post Office, another subject which the opposition in the Senate were peculiarly desirous of agitating, so as to increase to the highest pitch, the excitement of the public mind, and if possible, produce a general feeling against the administration. The motion was by Mr. Southard, at that time acting in direct and acknowledged opposition to the feelings and wishes of his constituents, to print thirty thousand copies of the violent party Report of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. Mr. Hill's brief speech was intended to expose some of the misstatements made in that report, many of which arose from the ignorance of the committee respecting the routine of duties connected with the department whose

* See Appendix K.

iniquities they had endeavored to expose, and not a few of which appeared intentionally exaggerated and colored so as to deceive the community and excite unfounded prejudices against the department. Mr. Hill was well fitted, from his long connection with the department as a mail contractor, to explain many facts that had appeared to the committee to involve some mysterious and suspicious circumstances.*

Early in the session of the New-Hampshire Legislature, resolutions were almost unanimously passed, approving in the most decided yet respectful language, the course which the administration had adopted with regard to the Bank and the public deposits, and deprecating the artificial panic which had been excited for the worst of purposes. These resolutions, it became Mr. Hill's duty to present to the Senate, and however the majority of that body may have affected to despise them, they spoke in freemen's language, such tones as the aristocracy of every age and nation have been unwilling to listen to. Mr. Hill prefaced them by appropriate remarks concerning the conduct and views of the State which he represented, in relation to the great question of the removal of the deposits.† We quote his own words in relation to the reception of these resolutions :

“ A very good sample of the prevailing disposition of a majority of the United States Senate is to be found in their treatment of the resolutions recently passed in

* See Appendix L.

† See Appendix M.

the Legislature of New-Hampshire, in the Senate by a unanimous vote, and in the House of Representatives by a vote of nearly three to one. Under a pretence that their presentation was irregular and unprecedented, these resolutions were laid upon the table, as the greatest indignity with which they could be treated. The objection to receiving them was made by a Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) who knew, or ought to have known, that the resolutions of States officially forwarded to Senators, and instructing them in any point of legislative duty, are presented as a matter of course. In making a motion afterwards to take up these resolutions for the purpose of giving them the usual direction of reference, the representative of New-Hampshire was in a manner unprecedented, stopped from offering his reasons why the resolutions ought to be received, and from showing that the State of Massachusetts among others, had at this very session presented resolutions under precisely similar circumstances.

The Senate would not even receive these resolutions. It could not be urged that their language was indecorous—therefore this was not offered as an objection. The Senate had before, (to use the becoming language of a great favorite of the majority, Mr. Poindexter,) “kicked out of the House” sundry resolutions and proceedings of the citizens of York county, Pennsylvania—they had also refused civil treatment to sundry resolutions from Ohio, and they had graciously deigned to tread upon the resolutions passed by the largest State convention that ever met in New-Jersey. But to the resolutions of a Legislature—to the State of New-Hampshire alone have they offered a similar indignity.

The legislature of a State are peculiarly the immediate constituents of the Senators in Congress from that State; every indication of the sentiments of a Legislature—every instruction of a Legislature to its Senators in Congress, ought to be received and respectfully treated by the Senate. It is believed that this is the first instance in which the Senate of the United States has refused to receive and consider the opinions and instructions of any

Legislature. The indignity in this case is not to the Senator who presented, but to the Legislature which passed these resolutions; the contempt is directed to a Sovereign State, and every State regarding its rights, should consider itself attacked in the indignity offered to the Legislature of New-Hampshire."

Mr. Hill gave a very just and excellent view of the conduct and motives of the opposition in Congress, the results which they expected to produce, and the objects they were endeavoring to obtain, in the form of a letter to the republicans of Concord who had met to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence. We have placed some extracts in the appendix.* During this long and laborious session, Mr. Hill, though far from enjoying his usual state of health, with the exception of a single day that he was confined to his room, had not been, at the time of writing his letter, absent for a half hour consecutively from his seat in the Senate, when in session; nor did there occur a single instance of the Ayes and Noes being taken, when his name does not appear registered among them. "Unpleasant," he says, "as it has been to stay here under the daily reproaches and contumely of an accidental majority, and that majority notoriously misrepresenting the will of a vast majority of the people of the United States, I nevertheless consider it my duty to stand at my post to the last hour of the last day of the session." Mr. Hill returned home at the close of the session, with a constitution somewhat enfeebled by so continued attendance upon the duties

* See Appendix N.

of his office, and by his arduous and untiring exertions during a period of more than seven months, part of it in the heat of a climate to which he had never been accustomed.

On the 22d of October, he was complimented with a public dinner, given him at Haverhill in this State, where his friends in Grafton county had an opportunity of taking him by the hand and encouraging him in the course which he had originally adopted, and in which he had thus far continued. The following sentiment having been offered :

"OUR GUEST, THE HON. ISAAC HILL—If there is any merit in contending fearlessly, ably, zealously, uniformly and successfully in the cause of democracy and for the rights of the people, he has that merit and the people will reward him for it"**—**

Mr. Hill, for once at least, ventured to return an extemporaneous reply. He complimented the citizens of Grafton county, alluded to their old leaders in the cause of republicanism, and to the progress of that cause among them, spoke particularly of the late whig dinner given to Samuel Bell in Concord, where the character of that worthy was backed up by the testimony of Daniel Webster and John Holmes, and handled the remarks of those gentlemen without gloves. We have placed a few brief extracts in another part of this volume.* Two days after, he joined his republican friends in Concord, at a festival hastily prepared, in honor of the splendid victories

* See Appendix O

the democratic party had obtained at recent elections.

At the late brief session of Congress, Mr. Hill was equally active and untiring in his exertions in the cause of republicanism, and the triumph of those principles on which our government was founded. At its commencement, an attempt was made by the unprincipled majority in the Senate to browbeat him, to insult him, and to degrade him in the eyes of the American people. This combination of a few individuals, who have for several years, dared to usurp authority, at variance with the very spirit of our institutions, to disobey and set at nought the will of those from whom they had received their power, had, contrary to custom, at the previous session, taken from their presiding officer the right of appointing their committees, that they might give their machinations against the administration and against the republican cause, the greater effect. They had long looked with an eye of jealousy upon Mr. Hill, and very naturally hated to consort upon terms of equality with an intelligent, self-taught mechanic, who had done much to expose and defeat their self-aggrandizing projects, who was never weary in the service of the republic, and never backward in declaring his views upon any subject of national concern and repelling every base allegation that was brought against him. They now, by a puerile movement, manifested the malignity of their feelings towards Mr. Hill, by excluding him from the committees of that body, over which they had unfairly acquired a temporary control. This measure, the offspring,

as one cannot but think, of some insignificant mind, resembling the pettish folly of a vexed schoolboy, had not the effect which its prime movers had wished. Mr. Hill remained firm and undaunted at his post; he knew the men with whom had to deal; he knew that many of them had violated the most solemn pledges made in the most solemn manner and even then holding their seats by such an undesirable tenure as the letter of the Constitution, in direct opposition to its spirit, could give them; and he had prepared himself to witness without astonishment, any and every act of malignity, folly or extravagance.— There are those whose censure confers honor, and whose commendation must ever bring with it, suspicion. Mr. Hill never wished for the time, when he should be constrained to say, ‘Lord, what have I done, that mine enemies should praise me!’

The session of Congress was short and not distinguished by any peculiar measure or distinctive system of operations. The panic had subsided; the hollow-hearted politicians who had produced it and who had tried to effect not merely a ‘bloodless revolution,’ had been fairly met and gallantly defeated; the Bank was given up for lost, and its advocates manifested a desire to free themselves of any imputation of peculiar anxiety for the renewal of its charter. The country was in a state of universal prosperity, the national debt was liquidated, and every thing, save the dissensions of political partizans, hunters for office and intriguers for power, was quiet. The only question of any moment that required the

decision of Congress was the subject of indemnifying the citizens of the Union for losses sustained by French spoliations prior to the year 1800. These claims had never been considered of great value ; yet self-interest had prompted to their repeated renewal. It was contended that our government, having by treaty with France, liquidated all claims which the citizens of either nation might have on those of the other, had, by that act, in effect assumed upon herself the obligation to remunerate, for the losses which they had sustained, her own citizens, who had been precluded from seeking direct restitution of those who had injured them. Mr. Hill could not consider these claims founded in justice, and his principles of strict economy in national expenditures would not permit him to support any appropriation which law and equity did not imperiously demand. He gave his views in a speech of some length, which comprises a clear and lucid history of the events which preceded and followed the partial war with France, the measures which had been from time to time adopted to secure the payment of the claims in question, and his own reasons for deciding against their justice. The latter are summed up as follows :

1. That a state of war between France and the United States effectually put an end to all obligation by France to make restitution for captures and spoliations beyond what they particularly specified in the treaty of September 20, 1800.

2. That the United States, after pressing France for a restitution of those claims so long as they could do it without a sacrifice of other paramount public and pri-

vate interests, assumed no responsibility for their payment by consenting to press those peculiar claims no further.

3. That if the fact of the existence of war and the abrogation of prior treaties shall be denied, still the United States, having first violated no previous treaty, were under no obligation to France and owed her nothing for such infraction.

4. That as the United States owed nothing to France, so the claimants are entitled to no compensation from the United States for any alleged claims on France.

Mr. Hill had also an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of his professions in favor of retrenchment and economy, by opposing a proposition made in the true spirit of the supporters of John Quincy Adams' administration, to lay out forty thousand dollars for pictures to ornament the President's house. On the eighth of January, he attended the republican celebration of that memorable anniversary of the victory at New-Orleans, and took occasion to evince the independence of his character by toasting the late lamented citizen and worthy, amiable man, William T. Barry, who was then the recipient of the wholesale slanders of a venal press.

In February, he made a speech upon a motion to repeal the law limiting the terms of certain officers. In this production he gave a familiar detail of his views respecting the true principle of appointments and removals from office, and the inconsistencies of the opposition in relation to the subject.*

At the legislative convention in June last, Mr.

* See Appendix P.

Hill received the republican nomination for the Chief Magistracy of the State. Notwithstanding all the insinuations which have been made to the contrary, this honor was alike unexpected and unsolicited. He has accepted the nomination agreeably to the principles on which he has always acted, to hold himself at all times ready for the disposal of that people whom he has so long served.

We have thus completed our survey of the political history of Mr. Hill. In doing this, we have endeavored to be as brief as our subject would permit, only dwelling upon the more important points, and passing over or slightly touching upon facts of inferior consequence. We have endeavored, in all our statements, to present the plain, unornamented truth. We have avoided, as far as possibly consists with the biography of a New-England politician, every thing savoring of offensive personality; we have even suppressed some facts and names, which it might have demanded no great license to consider as public property, and which might have added piquancy to our narrative, among our readers in New-Hampshire. In giving a slight sketch of partizan struggles and the progress of democratic principles in this State, we could not consider it a part of our plan to gratify a morbid curiosity by dragging before the public the names of petty individuals, who for a temporary period, exerted some influence in the politics of the State, and whose acts, if mentioned, we should have been

forced to disapprove. We have made free only with the names, conduct and sentiments of candidates for high office, and conductors of public prints.

It will be remarked that we have not considered it incumbent on us to notice at length, for the purpose of refuting, every petty slander which has, from time to time, been uttered against Mr. Hill. Such stale trash has been answered with sufficient particularity in the journals of the day, and should be suffered to remain in the forgetfulness to which the good sense of the community has at length consigned it. We have noticed only such objections against the character of our subject as have been mistakenly adopted and urged by reasonable men, and which have had some weight abroad. We are liberal enough to consider the larger portion of our opponents as honest in their opinions and prejudices; either themselves deceived into the adoption of the sentiments which they advocate, or else sincerely believing and candidly maintaining their aristocratic principles, knowing to what they will lead, if carried out to the extent which they contemplate, and preferring every evil which might flow from a government of a monied oligarchy, to what they consider the ungovernable passions of a governing people. The opinions of such men as these, we respect; and have hence endeavored to combat them, so far as they have prompted opposition to the individual whose public life it has been our purpose to commemorate. But there are not a few among our opponents, and we fear they have been too generally permitted to take the station

of leaders in their ranks, who, destitute of every governing principle save a firm determination to gain authority for themselves at the expense of the party they oppose, no matter by what means, have taken every occasion falsely and meanly to slander and abuse the character of those who have so often frustrated their plans. The statements of these men we have seldom noticed.— Knowing that they have not been made in good faith, but only through an unprincipled determination that they would conquer and debase their enemy, we have supposed it impossible to make them acknowledge their error, or change the system of operations they have adopted.

Sooner an aged, stubborn oak may bend,
And the firm, flinty rock to pieces rend;
Sooner shall polish'd marble take the seal,
Or supple quills engrave elastic steel,

than any attempt at rational argument, convince or affect wilfully unreasonable men. Moreover, we should only dirt our own fingers, by meddling with such characters. The republican editors in this State would do well to adopt more generally, the principle of perfect silence with regard to those statements, which, in consideration of the sources from which they originate, they know can have no injurious effects. When the character of our opponent is so base and his reputation so desperate that there is no danger of his representations being for a moment received by the respectable portion of the community, should we, by deigning to give battle to his doctrines, descend to his level, we should afford no assist-

ance to our cause, but should come off the field, not conquered by argument, but overcome by the weight of ribaldry and slander to which we must have been exposed. There are many persons so degraded and so vile, that we belittle ourselves by condescending to notice their conduct and their statements, and we expose ourselves to contamination. The man, for instance, who can coolly, in the full possession of all his faculties, and with the wondrous works of the God of Nature displayed before his eyes, obstinately persist in denying the existence of a Supreme Being, and in uttering outrageous and disgusting blasphemies against his Holy Name, is to be avoided, not met; is to be left alone to live and to die in his own corruption. In the political world, there are those so buried in the mud and mire of falsehood and degrading subserviency, that it is impossible to make them feel the truth, and if we attempt to thrust it to them, we only defile ourselves with the black abominations by which they are surrounded. A clergyman once, on his return home from a neighboring parish, whither he had been summoned to fill the sacred desk, in the evening, alone and on horseback, was much startled by the sudden terror of the beast which he rode and by the shadowy outlines of some half-seen object moving in the bushes. The holy man carried no carnal weapons; he had before him a large Bible, and without reflection, converted the sacred book into a missile and in his trepidation, hurled the volume at his supposed enemy. The unpleasant consequences which ensued we will not here detail; suffice it to say,

however, that the clergyman resolved henceforth never to throw the *Word of God at a skunk!*—We leave the application of the story in the hands of the reader, and return to our subject.

It has been, by a strange and unprincipled perversion of facts, made a subject of grave reproach against Mr. Hill that he is a wealthy man. The moral obliquity of that man's heart, who, knowing the history of Mr. Hill's past life, could raise this as an objection against his character, can only be equalled by the folly of those who presume to echo the charge, entirely ignorant of the attending circumstances. Perhaps there are not wanting those, who prefer the claims of a profligate son of dissipation, who has expended a noble patrimony in idleness and luxury, to the credit which judicious men will unite in bestowing upon honest, successful industry and enterprize. Mr. Hill began life, destitute of every thing save a good name, earned by a long and faithful service in the profession of his choice. He commenced amidst obstacles the most discouraging, and when every thing conspired to render success improbable. Yet, he was fortunate; his publication was found to be ably conducted, and though modest in its claims upon the public attention, and without any herald to trumpet its excellencies, its patronage gradually, steadily and constantly increased. In a very few years after Mr. Hill's first establishing himself in Concord, he found himself in the regular receipt of small yet constant gains, and in a fair way, by a life of industry and personal labor, to secure for his exertions, an honorable competence. In addition to

newspaper, he early opened a bookstore, and continued in the business, to his own pecuniary advantage, till very recently, and until, from a humble beginning, his business was gradually extended so as to render his establishment the most extensive in the State.

He was a mail contractor twenty years, under the administrations of Madison, Monroe and Adams, closing all his contracts in the fall of 1828, during his visit to Washington. The fact of his having been a contractor has often been warped or attempted to be warped to his prejudice; his only object was to add to his pecuniary possessions. His paper was very early selected as a channel of communication for the laws of the State and of the United States; a species of patronage which may be considered rather in the light of a testimony to the standing and circulation of the papers selected, than as an object of great moment to a speculator. The Patriot, as many of our readers will remember, for a long series of years, bore upon its title, 'Published by Isaac Hill, printer for the State and printer for the people.' The petty management by which partizan officers deprived him of his claim to the first of these professions, has been elsewhere detailed.

Mr. Hill was a member and often one of the fiscal officers of many associations of wealth and enterprise. He was for a long time, a Director of the Concord and Boston Union Boating Company; was a Director of the Merrimack County Bank, and for a space of time President of the board. A very considerable portion of his capital

has been embarked in a manufacturing establishment in a neighboring town. Mr. Hill has also acquired both reputation and property by his enterprise and success in the publishing business, in which he has surpassed all his country rivals. He published and circulated many standard works of real merit and sterling worth. The schools of New-England have been indebted to his press for many of the most valuable publications for the instruction and improvement of youth. We may be pardoned for specifying two works, which have as yet lost little of their former reputation, Blake's Historical Reader, and Tytler's Elements of History. Of both these books, Mr. Hill has printed many thousand copies, and made to the last, an addition by his own hand which gives it, in this country, its principal value,—a condensed history of America and the world, continued to a late date.

Such have been the means, by which Mr. Hill has arrived at the honorable competence which he now enjoys. Every man of common honesty or moral principle, must rejoice that his honorable exertions, his perseverance, his industry and self-denial have met with their reward. To young men of enterprise, however humble their birth, or low their fortunes, there is in this country no obstacle to the attainment of happiness, of comfort, of opulence. Those sons of fortune, who have been, from their very cradle, nursed in the lap of luxury; who have never known what it is to grapple with adversity; who have have found every wish anticipated, and every want supplied, almost before it was experienced, however for a

time they may have reason to congratulate themselves upon their happy lot, and may thank their God that they are not as this mechanic, will generally be found, in their race through life, left far behind upon the course, outstripped by those whose experience and whose training have prepared them, by their very severity, for a certain victory. They who have long struggled against the frowns of fate ; who have familiarly conversed with sorrow ; who have been intimate with woe ; who have been forced to surmount the most terrific and apparently invincible obstacles ; who have known what it is to grapple with poverty, who have met the ghostly forms of want and battled them face to face ; who have been the brothers of misery and have shaken hands with misfortune—these are the men who alone can have all the mighty, the resistless energies of the soul called into full operation, and the powers of the intellect roused to their highest activity ; who have dressed themselves in the panoply of universal power and are armed, equipped and fitted to conquer in every undertaking which demands severity of effort and long and patient endurance.

If misfortune comes, she brings along
The bravest virtues ; and so many great,
Illustrious spirits have conversed with woe,
Have in her school been taught, as are enough
To consecrate distress and make ambition
E'en wish the frown beyond the smile of fortune.

Mr. Hill's property has never been acquired by acts of injustice or preserved and accumulated by avarice and meanness. His purse is ever open

to the claims of individuals or the public. In public spirit, no man surpasses him—in love of his country, in honest pride in our free institutions, in ardent zeal for the promotion of the true interests of the nation, in all that constitutes pure patriotism, he is second to none. All his exertions have been directed for the public good.—If self-interest had been the only motive of his action, he would not have been found almost alone in opposition to a powerful and overwhelming dynasty in 1809. If reputation, wealth or favor had been superior to his love of what he conceived to be his country's true interests, he would have arrayed himself, at an age when no charge of inconsistency or violation of his principles could have been raised against him, upon the side of the dominant faction. In support of wealth or power, his talents must soon have rendered him conspicuous, and must have brought him notice and patronage. But he preferred the service of the people, to becoming the subservient though petted instrument of a factious aristocracy.

Mr. Hill has ever taken an all-absorbing interest in the welfare, the prosperity,—in whatever concerns the State of his adoption. It is here where his strongest affections, where every association that can be dear to his feelings, are concentrated. To the fame of the sons of New-Hampshire, he is ever anxious to do justice, as in some measure himself a participator; to the citizens of the same State, he omits no opportunity of referring his own happiness and prosperity. He is an excellent citizen; his

fellow townsmen will all join, without any distinction of party, in attesting to his liberal spirit ; no enterprize, having for its object the improvement of the town or the State in which he resides, ever wants his aid. The same love of country and desire for its prosperity had their effect in inducing the zealous support which he afforded to the administration of Madison during the trying period of the war. He believed an appeal to arms the only means of sustaining her honor, asserting and vindicating the rights of her insulted seamen, and restoring her violated commerce to its pristine activity. In the promotion of every local object of improvement, he has been a zealous participator. He was active in securing the present beautiful location of our noble State House ; has ever been in favor of encouraging our own manufactories, and of facilitating the progress of agricultural enterprize among our citizens. He has taken part in many societies for the improvement of the art of husbandry, believing no class of citizens so generally intelligent, so naturally virtuous, so truly independent, and so really free from the vices that corrupt and the habits that degrade civilized society, as is the industrious farmer, who, 'receiving his easy food from nature's hand,' promotes his own happiness and the equanimity of his disposition by his unremitted toil.

The sire of gods and men, with hard decrees,
Forbids our plenty to be bought with ease,
Himself invented first the shiny share,
And whetted human industry by care.

Mr. Hill was for a long time, a director of the Merrimack Agricultural Society. He has always advocated the improvement and multiplication of sheep, and, in the course of his legislative experience, zealously opposed a proposition which was introduced to impose a tax upon that useful animal. He has been anxious to give at least a fair experiment to the advantages supposed to be derivable from the introduction of silk-culture into the country, and is a member of a company who are now actively engaged in furthering this object in Concord. He has been a director of the New-England Fire Insurance Company, and for several years, the President of the Mutual Insurance Company.

Actuated by the same motives of disinterested patriotism, he has always opposed, by every means that he could command, the multiplication of petty monopolies, of banks and privileged corporations. The zealous advocate of reform, of retrenchment, and of rigid economy in public expenditures, he never carried his views so far as to oppose any appropriation which the honor or interests of the country, or the dictates of humanity might require. His exertions in support of the war and the consequent expense and increased responsibilities which he knew must ensue, and his labors in behalf of the deaf-and-dumb will attest to the liberality and consistency of his views in these particulars.

His exertions in favor of internal improvements have already been detailed. Before the close of the year 1809, there are found in the Patriot, articles from his pen, urging the citizens of New-Hampshire

to avail themselves of the unbounded resources which the State contains. We have elsewhere commemorated his efforts in behalf of the new county of Merrimack, in improving the navigation of the Connecticut, and in ascertaining the practicability of uniting the principal waters of the State by canal-communication. Both in his newspaper, and in the legislature, did he urge these things upon the consideration of his fellow-citizens. His views of the progress and benefits of internal improvement have kept pace with the progress of public feeling on the subject—the rapid, precocious advancement of practical knowledge. Those great enterprises which give a peculiar character to this time and this country, have met his hearty approval and co-operation. He took a prominent part in procuring the charter of the Concord and Lowell Rail Road from the last legislature, was a member of the original corporation and chairman of its first meeting.—At that meeting, he was likewise appointed chairman of a committee to collect information as to the amount of travel and transport which will probably be turned into this channel of communication. The stock of the company has been eagerly taken up, its operations will be energetic and effective, and the enterprise will be almost sure to meet with entire success, and to add both honor and profit to our State. Mr. Hill is chairman of the Board of Directors of this corporation.

His public spirit has not however been confined to objects of practical improvement merely. He has ever been distinguished for his zeal in pro-

moting the cause of literature. Conscious of the vast benefit which our country must derive from a high standard of education, a correct and cultivated taste, a love of information, and above all else, the general, universal diffusion of knowledge among the people, he has ever given his name, his personal efforts, and all his influence to the progress of sound and useful learning, and to the elevation of the literary character of the State and country. In 1818, an association was formed, through the zeal of several of our most estimable citizens, but which has since been suffered to decline, called "The New-Hampshire United Society for the the more general diffusion of useful knowledge, and for the promotion of good morals." President William Allen, then at the head of *Dartmouth University*, was chosen its President, Hon. Thomas Whipple, jr. recording secretary, and Hon. Isaac Hill, corresponding secretary. The prominent part which Mr. Hill took and the zeal which he displayed in the unfortunate college controversy, which for several years convulsed our State and which seemed likely to excite a baneful party spirit, an unlovely malignity of feeling, among our scientific, literary and professional men, were prompted by his ardor in behalf of what he considered to be the true interests of the State. A government ought never to look with indifference upon the character or conduct of those, to whose care are to be entrusted its future citizens. It was the same desire to promote the public good and the public convenience, that induced Mr. Hill at a later period, to propose to the legislature of New-Hamp-

shire, the establishment of a new institution, unconnected with the college which now exists. It is probable that, at some future period, the increase of our population and the more general diffusion of knowledge may require such an addition to our facilities for giving to the rising generation a finished education. Mr. Hill is an active member of the board of trustees of the flourishing Literary Institution which has been lately established at the capital of the State. He is also a member of the New-Hampshire Historical Society; one of the most respectable institutions of the kind in the country, and the value and importance of whose labors and publications are by no means properly appreciated by our citizens generally. Such societies may be called the gleaners of our past history, and the nurseries of the future; and if there is any benefit to be derived from a knowledge of the principles and motives which actuated the early settlers of our country, and the gradual steps by which they were developed and enlarged till they finally brought about our independence, then is it of importance to cherish and support associations, whose object is to collect and preserve such interesting and valuable memorials.

Mr. Hill has ever been proverbial for his generosity. He is not merely liberal in the aid which he is ever ready to afford to objects of public importance and to measures whose success depends upon energetic and associated action. He is ever free and generous towards deserving individuals. Many young men, now in highly respectable situations in life and not a few who have

filled prominent places in society, are indebted for the first step in their honorable and profitable career, to the friendly, unostentatious aid of Mr. Hill. Remembering the trials, amid which his own character was moulded, his youthful enterprises formed, and the foundations of his present good fortune laid, Mr. H. has neither disposition or wish to withhold his sympathy and his assistance from young men of merit and promise who are laboring under similar discouragements. True, his bounties have not always met with that grateful return which a heart possessing the common sensibilities of man, would be anxious to render. Yet, the ingratitude of a few can never have the effect to lessen the natural inbred generosity of his disposition.

Several of the first writers that New-Hampshire has produced, began their career of authorship under the auspices of Mr. Hill, and were induced to continue and to improve by the encouragement of the same kind and judicious patron. The first pieces of his own that the late accomplished gentleman and scholar, Nathaniel H. Carter, Esq., ever had the satisfaction of seeing in print, graced the poet's corner of the first volume of the Patriot. The young aspirant for the poet's laurels, was then a collegian. He was very diffident in regard to the merits of his productions, and passed them through the hands of a kind and judicious friend before he ventured to submit them even to so indulgent a critic as was Mr. Hill. We have seen an original letter to the friend referred to, which enclosed one of his earliest communications, and in which the young poet

very modestly alludes to the honor conferred upon him by the insertion of his rhymes in so excellent a paper as that edited by Mr. Hill. Carter continued his communications for the Patriot till the close of his residence at Hanover, as professor in the University. He was the author of several sarcastic pieces relative to the college controversy. The friend and companion of Carter's youth, the late talented and much lamented Haines, likewise commenced his career as a political writer, in the columns of the Patriot. Some of the first and perhaps the most beautiful pieces from the pen of the elegant writer who now edits the Ladies' Magazine, were also prepared for the same paper, and published under the signature of 'Cornelia.' The learned and instructive essays of 'A Layman,' and of 'Cincinnatus,' by Gov. Plumer, were originally communications for the New-Hampshire Patriot.

It is no part of our design to expose to public gaze the private benefactions of the man of whose character we are now treating. Above all, we would not invade the sanctity of family affairs, and tell the good deeds he has performed, in securing the happiness and prosperity of those endeared to him by the ties of consanguinity.—There is a remark, by an accurate observer of human nature and a deep-read student in the history of man, that "never was there a true patriot, who was not also, if a father, a kind one; never was there a good citizen, who was not also an obedient and reverential son." In the relations which Mr. Hill has sustained towards his afflicted parents and their numerous children, this

proposition has been fully verified. Mr. Hill married, in February 1814, the daughter of the late Capt. Richard Ayer, long a worthy citizen of Concord. By this marriage, he has three sons living. An infant daughter was lost about ten years since.

Mr. Hill's personal appearance is familiar to every citizen in the State. He is short and spare, and is lame, from the effects of an injury received in early childhood. His countenance, the general contour of his features, his high forehead, and the expression of his eyes, all conspire in conveying an impression of intellectual superiority ; in giving him an air, which his enemies call '*demoniacal*,' and which his warmest admirers consider the unerring tokens of a powerful and original mind. His countenance certainly bears the impress of thought, and no one, we believe, ever denied him the possession of originality of genius, depth of judgment, and natural talent.— He is plain in his dress, is a true working-man, both in appearance and in practice, and may be seen any day, in his republican apparel, either laboring with his workmen or directing their operations. He has ever been an industrious man ; has gained his property and preserved his health by a long life of continued, honorable, personal labor. He has

“ Valued nothing less
Than titles, figures, shape and dress :
Thinks merit should be chiefly placed
In judgment, knowledge, wit and taste.”

As to Mr. Hill's style of writing, it is unneces-

- sary to add much, particularly in a State where his productions have formed, for a quarter of a century, part of the reading of every citizen, to what has already been casually offered in the progress of this sketch. He became a ready writer in the days of his boyhood, and to the powers of his pen is to be ascribed nearly all the influence which he has been enabled to command. He has so long written in defence of republican principles, that he would perhaps find it impossible to guide his pen in the construction of a single sentence which should intentionally convey an idea inimical to the rights of the people. Hence, the strong, the pervading tinge, which his liberal feelings impart to every subject on which he touches. He has ever been independent and fearlessly prompt in placing upon paper his real, undisguised sentiments, without enquiring who would be offended, or what would be the consequences. He has been blamed, perhaps with some reason, for the caustic severity of his animadversions upon the acts and motives of political opponents. It should however be held as a mitigation of this fault, that he has suffered, perhaps as much as any other man, from the personal abuse and wicked fabrications of his enemies; and that hence, he has been induced, on some occasions, to give unchecked range to the severity of his remarks. His feelings, however excited, never permitted him to utter a whisper of accusation or word of reproach against one, whom death or other causes had placed in a situation whence no answer could be returned. He never exulted over an enemy, oppressed or heaped af-

fiction on the afflicted. Such conduct has justly been marked, as the 'mean triumph of a dastard soul.' Mr. Hill's pen has ever been found ready to defend the interests of New-Hampshire and the fame of her sons. His writings are, in their character, plain and practical. No man needs a knowledge of dead languages or literature monopolised by a few, to understand his meaning. No lurking mystery lies concealed in the verbiage of his sentences ; no riddle, no contradiction, no obscurity ever puzzles the brain of the plain, untutored, intelligent reader.

The same plainness and republican simplicity characterise his speeches, whether *written* or *extemporaneous*. On whatever subject his feelings may have been enlisted, he enters upon it with the calmness and deliberation of one enquiring for truth ; and it is in truth, in facts, that he chiefly deals. His arguments are sound, because he sets out with known, proved and sufficient data, and his conclusions follow from his premises, naturally and justly. Hence the written reports of his speeches have always been read with avidity and been more eagerly sought for, than those gems of taste and eloquence with which the finished orator delights his hearers. The works of the latter, must be heard, to be fully appreciated ; the excellencies of the former, are more visible on a careful perusal. The speeches of the man of eloquence, will long survive as models of diction, elegance and taste, while those of the practical politician will possess greater interest with the great body of our citizens, and will be more confidently relied upon in matters of fact. The de-

ficiencies of his early education, or more properly, the want of any instruction from others that can be dignified by such a name, prevent Mr. Hill from aspiring to the honors of the orator; he has no richly-stored imagination on which to draw for those creations of fancy which delight and dazzle, but which do not convince; plain, practical good sense and sound knowledge in all subjects of common concern, or relating to our national polity, are all the attractions which he brings to add interest to his speeches. He is not fluent, hesitates much in his delivery, and usually shews his desire to instruct and entertain his auditory and his respect for his own reputation, by speaking only after careful preparation, much reading, much thought, and much writing on the subject. There are not wanting instances, however, in which he has been taken by surprise, and, on the excitement of the moment, has returned to personal attacks, a happy reply.

That Mr. Hill is liberal in his opinions, in religion as well as in politics, may have been gathered from what has already been written. He is opposed to monopolies of every description, and is willing to extend the hand of charity to every sincere worshipper of God, whether he agree with himself upon speculative points or not. He is worthy of all praise, not merely as an active partizan in behalf of those political principles which he has espoused, but as having been an efficient instrument in carrying into practice the letter and the spirit of our Bill of Rights. The principles of that invaluable document have ever found in him a zealous supporter. He is entire-

ly opposed to that proselyting, persecuting spirit which characterize many religious sects of the present day, and is willing that all denominations shall dwell together on terms of perfect equality. His religion is not that of the sword or the fire-brand; he would propagate it, neither by the burning of heretics or of convents. His exertions in favor of the Toleration law, which have already been spoken of, and his efforts in behalf of those peculiar people, who, under the name of *Shakers*, have established two flourishing communities in New-Hampshire, and who have frequently been handled, in their profession and practice, with much severity both by renegades from their faith and in the legislature of the State, will attest his liberal feelings; will show the extent of that benevolence which can include the whole body of his fellow-citizens. He is, however, no free-thinker, but a sincere believer in the moral precepts which Christ lived and died to inculcate.—Liberality has been well styled, ‘the handmaid of science and the daughter of truth.’ It is equally opposed to bigotry, superstition and infidelity. ‘Of all mental aberrations, freedom of thinking is the most obnoxious, as it is fostered by the pride of the heart and the vanity of the imagination. In superstition, we sometimes see the anxiety of a well disposed mind to discharge its conscience; with bigotry, we often see associated the mild virtues which are taught by christianity; but in the free-thinker, we only see the bad passions and the unruly will, set free from all the constraints of outward authority, and disengaged from the control of reason and judg-

ment: in such a man, the amiable qualities of the natural disposition become corrupted, and the evil humors triumph.' Mr. Hill co-operated, some years since, in procuring the regular performance of Episcopal services in Concord. After they had been discontinued, he usually attended upon public worship in the Methodist church.

In his morals, we fear no contradiction, when we declare him a living pattern for the imitation of every young aspirant for honor and reputation. From his very boyhood, he has been free from the taint of vice in every form. In his school-days, during his apprenticeship, and the period subsequent to his removal to Concord, no imputation of moral stain can rest upon his character. How melancholy is the reflection, that upon so few of our great men can this greatest of all commendations be truly bestowed! Men of powerful intellect and superior talents too often, in the words of a distinguished writer, "make their genius an apology for vice, and take the sacred fire, kindled by God within them, to inflame men's passions," and to minister to the worst of purposes. Mr. Hill has ever been regular in all his habits, upright and honorable in all his dealings, temperate and industrious, exact and prudent. Even in his youthful days, he never shared in those dissipations which are, at that period, generally held excusable.

There exist many striking points of analogy between his character and that of the venerable parent of American literature, Benjamin Franklin. They both were of humble extraction; born in indigence and nursed in labor. They both

followed the same profession and both became patriarchs among their brethren of the trade.— They were both studious in the days of their youth, and in the intervals of severe daily labor, laid the foundation of future eminence. Both owe their fortunes to their own industry and perseverance, accompanied by the kindred virtues of temperance, sobriety, order, and government of the passions. Both have been plain, practical men, neither possessing eloquence, or poetry, or the attractions which the imaginative faculty can throw around the most abstruse subject; common sense is characteristic of their writings.

Such are some of the prominent traits in the character of the man who is now offered to the citizens of New-Hampshire as a candidate for the chief magistracy of their State. If elected, we have every assurance in the entire history of his past life, that he will pursue, in that station, the same course of conduct, governed by the same principles, as he has hitherto done in his editorial and legislative capacity. It would be difficult to suppose an individual more suitable to guide the councils of a republican State, than a man who has for so many years, fought for the republican cause, who has adhered to it through evil report and through good report, who has never swerved from his principles, but has found them equal to his support in every part in which he has been called upon to engage; who has been of such eminent service in changing the politics of New-Hampshire and who is, withal, of irreproachable morals, of uni-

versal benevolence, and of excellent general character. The party that support him, will be the same with which he has co-operated for twenty-five years ; it includes those who are in favor of constitutional republicanism, as opposed to monarchical federalism, or aristocratic principles however named ; who are in favor of equal rights to every citizen ; who are opposed to all monopolies, and hostile to every system by which sectional jealousy may be excited and kept alive, and one portion of the Union may enrich itself at the expense of another.

The party who oppose him can certainly not be characterized in so few words. If organized at all, it must be marshalled under divers petty leaders and in various distinct shapes to preserve uniformity of action among so heterogeneous a mass. It is composed of parti-colored politicians, of men of very different views and whose lives have been passed in struggles for very different interests. The only common bond of union is an inveterate hatred against the democratic party and an ardent desire to hurl its members from the ascendancy which they now enjoy. Should this be accomplished, and were it possible for the republican party to be drawn from the field, so that no common enemy should frighten them into mutual concession, the struggles of these different factions for the domination of the rest, would equal in virulence their present united contest for the supreme power.

Now, this party, composed of these men, have stolen the sacred name of WHIGS to serve their selfish interests, and seem to hope the deception

a successful one ; that by the magic influence of that powerful and once revered word, they shall be able to slide into power over the necks of an abused people and a prostrate democracy. They expect to conceal effectually under these borrowed plumes, the jack-daw blackness of their own character. They wish to call off the attention of the people from their objects and principles by raising aloud an assumed watchword, under which they are endeavoring to undermine the very battlements and walled places of republicanism. As has been well remarked, he that picks your pocket, always tries to make you look another way. ' See that man, the other side of the street—what a fiery nose he has ! Lord, there's a chimney a-fire ! D'ye see yon man going along in the bottle-green cloak ? That's the very man that stole one of Jupiter's satellites and sold it to an ignorant fool for a gold watch, and it set his breeches on fire ! ' Now the man that has his hand in your pocket, does not care a brass farthing whether you believe what he says or not. All his aim is, to prevent your looking at *him*, and discovering what he is really doing. Just so it is with the remnant of the federal faction.—Under the name of Whigs, and with the aid of a few mercenary renegades, they hope to deceive the people into forgetfulness of the measures they once advocated and into a belief of their present purity and patriotism. It is impossible that such barefaced deception as the assumption by such a mixture of such men, of the sacred name of Whigs, can be finally successful. But if the people are not upon their guard, they may

be for a time, as not a few doubtless have been, led astray. The father of poetry, the bard of ancient Greece, has remarked that celestial bodies, if separated, soon unite again; and it is certain that no stab can inflict a *fatal* wound on Truth—but incessantly repeated attempts may for a brief period obscure its lustre.

This party, which has at last agreed upon a name under which to contend, (though doubtless it will soon be worn out) forms a curious medley. It consists of those who have been unwillingly deceived; of renegades from republican faith; and of the remnant of the original federal dynasty. The first of these elements of the great National Whig party, must soon see their error, and will, at the first accidental disclosure of the cloven foot and cornuted skull of the monster under whose wing they have been sheltering, seek refuge among their early friends and once more range themselves in support of old constitutional principles. Yet, a man may as easily introduce himself between the onion and its peel, and come forth unscented, as can these escape taint from their intercourse with this lecherous 'Old Man of the Sea.' Many, through fear of ridicule for their inconsistency, will remain firm in the allegiance to which they have unwittingly submitted. These, with the renegades from republicanism, those whom chance had thrown upon the side of democracy, though in heart and disposition opposed to its principles, disappointed seekers for office, discontented and growling partizans, all whose inordinate expectations and

insatiable ambition have not been gratified, form the second, a large, and the most virulent and unprincipled portion of the opposition party. It is their favorite policy to add to their ranks, by recruits of like character with themselves. It is thus they hope to acquire an ascendancy, not only over present opponents, but also over those towards whom they now profess cordiality—those who sincerely and honorably believe the sentiments which they profess. These last will not find their selfish allies of great service, and indeed, some of the most sagacious often manifest a gleam of suspicion as to their motives and measures; a thought that they may possibly prove faithless and will yet endeavor, ‘with new treasons, to redeem the past.’

The old federal party and those who maintain the principles which actuated the partizans of John Adams in '98, are, almost to a man, ranged in opposition to the present administration and its supporters. This fact cannot be denied. Wherever there still lives a man, who was a prominent member of the old federal party, that man is an adherent of modern Whiggery. Think for a moment of the politics of every surviving member of the Hartford Convention. They are *Whigs*, without an exception. Where is the Secretary of that Convention and the zealous defender of its motives and measures? Where are its ministers plenipotentiary to the government at Washington, sent to treat with the Executive, as with any foreign power? It is true, a bare-faced attempt has more than once been made to

identify the old republican party with the mongrel Whigs of the present day, but the deception is too plain to be swallowed. Even the honest consciences of many of the old federalists themselves will not allow it. When the New-England Review, on a late occasion, declared the principles of the Whigs to be substantially those of Jefferson and Madison, Noah Webster, an old veteran editor of the black cockade stamp, indignantly repelled the slander upon the old federal party and reproached his young brother for not knowing that it was identical with the opposition to Jackson and Van Buren. To the same effect have Dwight and Sullivan and Buckingham and the veteran editor of the Farmers' Cabinet in our own State,—all authorities which the Whigs will not care to dispute, borne willing testimony. Of what use, then, can it be, for such a man as Daniel Webster, a leading opponent of the late war, and in favor of the Hartford Convention, whatever his friends may now find it expedient to say to the contrary, impudently to claim for his party, the presumed support of such men as Stark and Langdon, men whom he himself personally opposed in 1812? Why should certain Whig papers persist in declaring themselves defenders of republican principles and believers in the democratic doctrines of Jefferson? It is only to deceive the ignorant and unwary—there can be no other motive. So the emperor Alexander prostrated himself before the tomb of Achilles and went through the farce of doing honor to his memory; when had that hero been alive, the

ambition and jealousy of the Macedonian would not have permitted him to rest, till the destruction of so dangerous a rival had been effected.

The opposition, then, is in effect, no other than the old federal party, and is composed of sincere believers in the old fashioned doctrines of a 'strong government,' and of those who find it convenient to make profession of a similar faith. With the former, we make no war, as *men*; believing them honest, we respect them for their independence and their consistency; but we would contend against them with all the enthusiasm which the cause of liberty can inspire; with the strength of all our soul, would we oppose them—because we think their doctrines dangerous, subversive of freedom, opposed to equal rights, and inconsistent with the entire spirit of our institutions. Had it not been, that a few worthy patriots of Revolutionary times, attached by all the powerful prejudices of birth and education, to the old systems of government, though disliking those who chanced then to administer power, and distrusting the ability of the people to take care of themselves, used the influence of their names in the promulgation of monarchical sentiments, such doctrines could never have taken deep root in our liberty-loving country. Their principles are, we repeat it, essentially monarchical; though somewhat modified, and the more dangerous because they are so, to conform to the popular voice, and so as not to shock too much the free sentiments of our free

citizens. The whole train and tenor of their writings is against democracy, against equal suffrage, against the government of the people, in favor of independent and irresponsible rulers.—With natural fellow-feeling, they look to England our former mistress, as having a government formed on the purest model of wisdom. They speak of her in tones of veneration approaching almost to idolatry—their hearts yearn after her dominion. She ‘is the bulwark of our holy religion,’ says Gov. Strong: she ‘deals out vengeance like a God,’ responds Ben Russel. Occasionally, in a moment of forgetfulness, they speak still plainer the secret thoughts of their hearts. Said the editor of the Farmer’s Museum in 1797, one of the most powerful, and in politics the most demented writer our country ever produced,—speaking of a great fire in Boston, ‘when will this wooden city amend her police? It is said the *old Whigs* are most averse to a reform, and that most of the blame of those frequent conflagrations must be laid to their charge.—These men [i. e. the old Whigs] cannot be charged with *caprice; the same spirit which lighted a flame in ’75*, would survey with indifference a blazing street in ’97, rather than forget the *right of surly opposition.*’ Again, the same man speaks of the French Revolution, an event which, however unhappy in its result, was brought about by the same glorious principles that affected our own independence, ‘Frenchmen are *not* made equal and free; they are destined to yield obedience to the behests of their Maker and the *mandates of*

*a king.** In short, we must conclude, in the words of Jefferson himself as expressed in a letter to our own venerated Langdon, that "the toryism with which we struggled in '77, differed but in name from the federalism of '98, with which we struggled also; and the Anglicism of 1808, with which we are now struggling, is but the same thing still, in another form. It is a longing for a king, and an English king, rather than any other. This is the true source of their sorrows and wailings."

If then, we have proved what we think must follow from their own occasional confessions that toryism, federalism, anglicism and modern whigism, (not the 'old Whigs,') are essentially the same, does it not behoove every true republican to stand on his guard against the approaches of this foe to liberty? They come to us under a name which once implied every thing that was good, that was patriotic; they come with fair pretences and with loud protestations of innocence, but it is only that they may rob us of all that we hold dear. Let us turn a deaf ear to their syren songs, let us present to them a bold and united front, let us say, with the wise Trojan, 'I fear those Grecians, even when they come with a present in their hands.' Let us not throw down the walls of union which now preserve us, to admit their wooden image of deception—its flanks conceal death to our cause. The old

* The writings of Gouverneur Morris, Josiah Dunham, &c. will afford innumerable declarations of a similar import.

lion of toryism is there, though concealed ; he is not dead, but sleepeth ; whether couchant or rampant, he is the same dangerous beast. Their motto is, ' Divide and conquer,' and like Milton's devil, their attempts will not be discontinued, so long as there remains the least chance of success.

What tho' the field be lost !
All is not lost ; th' unconquerable will
And study of revenge, *immortal* hate
And courage never to submit or yield,
Remain.

It is only by perfect union ; by a thorough organization, by previous concert, and well digested plans, by mutual concession, by a yielding of personal preferences and repressing personal dislikes, for the victory of *principle*, that the Republicans can hope long to resist successfully their repeated and varied attacks.— So long as they shall pursue such a course, a course which true wisdom and sound policy dictate, there is good sense and vital virtue enough in our country to preserve us forever from the domination of an aristocracy, and our General and State governments from the taint of federal influence.

For Mr. Hill himself, as a candidate for a high office, we feel no fear ; and have hence said nothing in allusion to his particular case.— He received the nomination for Governor, unsolicited, and his principles and character are

well known to the people of New-Hampshire.—
Apart from his political views, there is probably
not a man among us, who would not readily
acknowledge him the most suitable person for
the chief magistracy of a State, in whose pros-
perity he is so deeply interested, and with whose
honor, his own reputation is so intimately con-
nected.

“ To birth or office, no respect be paid
Let worth determine here.”



APPENDIX,

**COMPRISING SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES
AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS OF**

MR. HILL.



APPENDIX.



A.

Extract from the N. H. Patriot, 12 May, 1812.

THE EMBARGO.

The intention of the British ministry, according to their own publications, is to "annihilate neutral commerce;" this means American commerce, as America is the only neutral nation. Now, we have already seen that there is no safety on the ocean.—Great-Britain seizes all American commerce destined to any other part of the world than her own, or the territories of her allies.—Under such circumstances, what can so effectually subserve our interests as the Embargo? True it is, the merchants in the British interest, informed that an embargo was intended, by the treachery of federal members in Congress, pushed out immense quantities of flour, &c. the week preceding the embargo—a part of this will inevitably precipitate itself into the jaws of destruction. The embargo will undoubtedly be substituted either by a war or such concessions as will cause the rights of neutrals to be respected. The government will either become a belligerent, or she will no longer continue a neutral nation giving Great-Britain the right to "annihilate neutral commerce;" she will either go to war, or she will remain at peace on no other terms than that the American flag shall protect American property. We are firm in the opinion that she must and will fight. Such being the case, the embargo was a wise and prudent measure; *wise*, because it

prevented our enemy from obtaining supplies which she cannot do without; and *prudent*, because it keeps at home that property and those resources which we shall need in case of a contest now rendered inevitable.

In vain may the merchants, whose interest is wrapped up in the interests of Great-Britain, and whose attachments to her, notwithstanding she continues to seize their property, are as natural as the increased affection of the spaniel for the severity of his master—in vain may they attempt to convince thinking people in the country that the embargo will not be beneficial:—they will undoubtedly have some effect on their poor dependents, whose knowledge extends no further than their own private interests, who think they see in our government that enemy to American commerce which is only to be found in Great-Britain, and who suppose the nation must starve because we have *plenty of provisions*, and because government has the prudence to retain them for our own use!

The embargo is beneficial to *poor people*—because it makes every necessary article of consumption cheaper.

It is beneficial to the *manufacturer*—because it enables him to sell his own productions in place of the miserable manufactures of Britain.

It is beneficial to the *farmer*—because it prevents the exchange of articles of real and solid worth for those which comparatively speaking are worth little or nothing.

But what redounds to the benefit of all the foregoing classes, is supposed to be injurious to the merchant;—not to the fair and honorable merchant—but to such as have been in the habit of sponging the country people and have made themselves rich at other's expense.—These hate to see the growth of domestic manufactures—because if the people are thereby supplied, they lose the profit of their very lucrative trade with England. Hence their incessant clamors against the non-intercourse and embargo laws. We do not expect but the pressure of the times will produce partial distress—we may anticipate that those distresses will be charged to the government, by men who cannot, who will not see the real cause; but we trust that the continued affection of more than three fourths of the people, and the reflection of doing what is right and just, will operate as a strong incentive to the Administration to march forward in their course of honorable measures with a firm and upright step.

B.

Extract from the N. H. Patriot, 26 May, 1812.

THE CRISIS.

The present times are big with events upon whose favorable or unfavorable turn depends the salvation or the eternal degradation of the only republican government on earth.—The party in this country adverse to its republican institutions have all along predicted that republics cannot last long—that there is not virtue, stability or energy in the people; and they have endeavored that their predictions should be verified by straining every nerve to palsy the arm of government, to destroy that confidence the people repose in it, and misrepresent its measures and its strength, thereby encouraging foreign nations to continue their aggressions.—The British faction have invited the insult and contumely of foreign nations—laughed at the government for its long forbearance under the repeated deceptions and injuries practised on it by Great-Britain—said that government could not be kicked into a war; and now that the cup of conciliation has been drained of its very dregs, and our government is calling into action the energies of the nation and pursuing the only course which can free us from the shackles of foreign bondage—this same faction declare that government *rash* and “*mad*”—they declare that we have not cause of war with Great-Britain, and that the people will forcibly resist the government rather than join it in support of a war:—they withhold the means of supporting the government which themselves possess, and they discourage others in lending their means for the laudable purpose of perpetuating that independence which was bought by the blood of our fathers; they attempt to terrify the people into the most abject vassalage, by arraying the horrors of war in all their vivid colors before them, and fancying miseries and sufferings in consequence which no nation ever realized.

That the policy of our government has ever been the preservation of peace, must be manifest to those in the least degree acquainted with its measures. Its anxiety to preserve peace has perhaps been too great—has caused it to bear injuries which nothing else could justify. To this predisposition for peace, the internal enemies of our republic have flattered themselves the nation would fall an easy sacrifice; and to their disappointment in this particular may be ascribed their present virulence towards the government.

They do not now oppose war because longer submission would be of advantage to themselves or the country, but *because it must end in the disgrace of the country and the entire prostration of its independence.* They do not address the peace-loving passions of the people—they do not deprecate the expense in blood and treasure which a war may incur, from a wish to preserve the country—but because they know if that country continues in its present state, its government must be destroyed, and one better adapted to their views, an aristocraey which shall not depend on the voice of the people, will rise on its ruins. The republicans, the nation's party, the life-blood of the country, are and ever have been the advocates of peace; and to secure that peace their voice is now unanimous in favor of asserting the rights of their country—in favor of a war, which is the only resort left for an ultimate and honorable peace. The federalists are advocates for tame submission to the insults of foreign nations, which submission they call peace, because they know that such submission is directly calculated to destroy the confidence of the people in themselves and their government, and to produce that anarchy and confusion which of all other things are best calculated to subserve their purposes.

The situation to which the aggressions of foreign nations, of Great-Britain in particular, have reduced our country, is of all others the best calculated, under the misrepresentations of the opposition, to make the administration unpopular with that class of people who cannot or will not trace effects to their causes. It is not at all surprising that the opposition wish this state of things to continue, because upon such a state of things alone can they rise into power.—They know that a war will cause our rights to be respected; and that the effects of a war must destroy all their grounds of opposition. Hence they attempt to impress the people with the belief that a war will be destructive to the country, when it will only be the destruction of the faction which sighs for the subversion of our liberties.

Our administration do not wish for war, and they have delayed it so long as a glimmering of hope remained that the last resort would not be necessary. The federalists have made great exertions in our elections; and their delusions, with some local causes, have succeeded in changing the opinions of a few hundreds in New-England, out of as many hundred thousands, under the idea that all would be right if they voted for federal men. The great body of the people

remain firm, and will support the government, if that government supports its own dignity and its rights; but if it deserts them, the people must resort to others who will act worthy of the cause and rights for which they are contending. We have full confidence in the government of the people; we feel assured, as well from their known character as from our private information, that the government will not flinch. The time is even now come (yesterday) when the ulterior measures have been submitted to Congress; and **THE PEOPLE** are ready to meet, and second them.

C.

**MR. HILL'S DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGE
OF POLITICAL BIGOTRY.**

Extract from the N. H. Patriot, 30 May, 1820.

It is often a complaint against us, that we are too *rigid* in our political sentiments—that we contribute to keep alive the flame of party spirit, which but for the continual references of the republicans would die away forever. *References*, to what? Why, to the past political sins of the federal party. Now we should be sorry to have every federalist think himself included in the censures justly cast upon his party, although he may be culpable for being found in such company. It is the leaders of that party—the men who openly talked of a dissolution of the union in 1815—the men who have for twenty years been incessantly pouring out vials of wrath and obloquy on those very measures which have raised our country to its present height of glory, and for the *merit* of which this very *modest* party now claims a share of applause.—It is such men whom we deem unworthy, whose conduct should often be looked into, and who are not fit to be entrusted with public offices. There are many honest federalists, no doubt, whose intentions and prayers were on the side of country; they loved our institutions, but were blindly impressed with the sentiment that they were withering away under a republican administration; their enmity was artificial, produced by the continual excitement of men whose motives had deeper foundations;

they opposed *men* only. But the leaders of the federal party had objects more interesting in their hostility. They disbelieved the theory of our government disdained the idea of universal liberty—censured as enthusiasts and wild men those who advocated our untrammelled institutions; their conduct arose from a settled, native hostility to a republican form of government. Privileged orders, titles, hereditary honors, and all the *et ceteras* of European systems entered into their schemes of political organization. To them the mountain cry of liberty, as she ranged throughout our borders, seemed disorderly, and they could not believe, after the fatal examples of ancient republics, that ours would be permanent or happy. Well meaning federalists, we say, knew nothing of such views. Their leaders were too wise to instil them openly; and even when the infamous assemblage at Hartford was planned and all the fiery apparatus of civil uproar prepared—when New-England was on the brink of a separate existence—well meaning federalists knew nothing of the views of their leaders. The safety of the country they sighed for, but blindly upheld its enemies. These things are abundantly proved—by the revealed intentions of the leading federalists—by their chagrin and mortification under disappointment—and by the general secession of the honest federalists from their ranks. Under such circumstances, we deem it our bounden duty to admonish our brethren of the dangers to which our country is exposed—of the intentions of those who even declare the *feasibility of a separation of the States*. To remind the evil of their errors, the foolish of their danger, and to uphold good men in every laudable pursuit, is a sacred duty. Better err on the side of country than amongst its deadly enemies.

D.

CONCLUSION OF MR. HILL'S ADDRESS AT THE
REPUBLICAN CELEBRATION IN CONCORD,
8 Jan. 1828.

It is a solemn truth, which will not be too often or too forcibly impressed on the minds of the people, that poor human nature cannot always be trusted with the exercise of power without abusing it. The fascinations of power, the

long exercise of official authority, will sometimes change a plain republican into a contemner of the people's rights.—The salvation of the people rests in themselves—in the liberty to discuss the merits of men and measures—in the right to change the public servants which is given them by our frequent elections. I should despair of our rights—I should consider the toils and the blood of the revolution to have been expended in vain—had we an hereditary President or Senate for life, agreeably to the wishes of the party who consider the people their own worst enemies. I should despair of the Republic, were the doctrine to obtain which is now contended for by the partizans of Mr. Adams, that the President alone is the Constitutional Government, and that every opinion calling in question his measures or his acts—every effort to prevent his succession in office, is “wicked opposition”—is moral treason! The doctrine of slavish submission and non-resistance is fit only for the slaves of an European despot; let it never be adopted by a republican people, whose boast is that their rights were gained by the flowing blood of the purest patriots.

While the people shall retain that intelligence which is quick to discern, and that virtue which is prompt to choose the most disinterested men for their rulers—when the public servants shall be as prompt and willing to retire from office to give place to others their equals or superiors, as they were to accept office—when our officers shall without exception be as faithful in managing the business of the public as they are in managing their own concerns—when those unfaithful servants shall be dismissed whose maxim is that robbery of the public treasury is not as sinful as theft from an individual—when combinations of lobby managers to overawe and control the deliberations and acts of our legislative bodies, shall be scouted from the land—when the will of the people shall no longer be frustrated by bargain, intrigue and management—when the last attempt to organize faction by mingling all good and bad political distinctions and arraying one portion of the country against another portion of the country on account of some pretended difference of interest, shall have been looked down by the people—when man shall no longer persecute and oppress man for an honest difference of opinion either in religion or on matters of civil polity; then shall we enjoy in full fruition all the rights and benefits of a perfect Republic; then shall ours present the sublime spectacle of the most perfect administration of the most perfect Government on earth.

E.

MR. HILL'S DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGE
OF INCONSISTENCY.

Extract from the N. H. Patriot, 28 July, 1828.

POLITICAL CONSISTENCY.

One of the expedients of the federal party, to effect their object of a complete *amalgamation*, is to make their political opponents, the old republicans, appear as inconsistent as they have been themselves. The reason is, they have no other way of glossing over their own criminality but by producing a belief on the public mind that others have not been less criminal than they have been.

The editor of the Patriot has now been before the public almost twenty years; and during that time his sole object has been to support and maintain republican principles—the principle, that our government is instituted for the benefit of the whole and not of a few—the principle, that the officers of government are the *servants* and not the *masters* of the people—the principle, that the people ought not to be taxed to pay men for holding offices where they do not render an equivalent—the principle of strict economy in public disbursements, of frequent and free elections, of the right to change our rulers, of toleration and protection of all political and religious opinions, when those opinions do not infringe the rights and consciences of others; in short, our object has been to support the principle of Democracy against the machinations of the vindictive Aristocracy. But during the period of nineteen years, there has not been a time when the Patriot has not been opposed, when the editor of the Patriot has not been personally abused and vilified by the federal papers in this State. It is, as he believes, a compliment to his consistency that he has never been a subject of their praise; and it affords him a good evidence of his rectitude, that he has been invariably patronized and supported by the great body of republicans in this State.

In a contest for principle, the *individual* is of little consequence. Our political enemies have given to the Editor of the Patriot much more consequence than he ever deserved. With the newspapers three to one in the State in their favor, they are not satisfied with newspaper attacks. Within the last six months, nearly a *hundred thousand pamphlets* have

been put in gratuitous circulation to produce an impression that the opinions of an individual were formerly inconsistent with his present opinions; and garbled extracts are produced to prove that he formerly had a good opinion of individuals whose conduct he now condemns.—And all this too when the party and the persons taking these unheard of measures will not, cannot even pretend that they have not been as inconsistent as they would represent us—for in opposing the principles we have supported, they have constantly opposed the individuals we have supported, and supported those we have opposed.

Take, for instance, the Plumers, the Bells, the Morrills, the Bartletts—great J—M—and little S—H—; and even the present objects of their strong affections, John Q. Adams and Henry Clay, composing the “administration;” we confess that while these men *appeared* to be engaged in the cause of their country—while they *seemed* to be supporting republican principles, the Patriot believed well and spoke well of them;—but then there was no epithet too vile for the federalists to use respecting them. The tables are completely turned so soon as these people array themselves against the republican party: the Patriot takes up its testimony against duplicity and treachery; and federalists are even more enamoured of their new recruits—some of whom have betrayed alternately both parties—than of those who have steadily been their friends.

Almost one half of the present generation has come upon the stage during the last nineteen years. To show that the New-Hampshire Patriot has steadily advocated the cause and principles it now advocates, we select a short article from one number in each month of its first year, all proceeding from the pen of the Editor. And we fear not to take up that paper year by year, and pursue it from the age of twenty-one to forty. Let the federalists do the same with the Concord Gazette, Register and Statesman, the Portsmouth Oracle and Journal, the N. H. Sentinel, the Amherst Cabinet, &c. and it cannot but be apparent that neither they nor we have changed our principles, however *they* may have attempted to cast off their old name and take ours.

THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE PATRIOT IN 1809-10.
April 18, 1809. “Amidst the conflicts and animosities of infuriated zeal—when the unerring genius of improvement is cramped by the persevering advocates of corrupt systems of polity—when the evil spirit of Federalism is stalking up

and down our land seeking whom it may devour—when the avowed and secret projects of internal and external enemies are aimed at the vitals of our republic—it becomes every one whose views are American, whose sentiments coincide with those of our fathers of the revolution, to inculcate the sound doctrine of rational liberty, to espouse the cause of his country and his God.—The axioms of political morality, as expressed by WASHINGTON in his valedictory, by JEFFERSON and MADISON each at the commencement of their presidential career, and so well practised in all their lives, are engraved on the heart of every American, and are precisely those we would adopt.”

May 9, 1809. “The State of Virginia forms an honorable contrast. While Massachusetts was forming her plots, this first State in the Union was passing laws for the encouragement of learning and the arts. As this respectable State was the first to oppose British tyranny, so she will be the last to desert her own free constitution and government.”

June 6, 1809. “The temporary results in favor of federalism of the late elections in New-England have inspired that party with new confidence and impudence.—But their day of retribution is coming—the eyes of the deceived have been opened. We venture to say, that another election will exhibit New-Hampshire perfectly regenerated.”—[And it was so in the election of JOHN LANGDON.]

July 11, 1809. “The federalists, we mean “the leading men of the federal party,” have repeatedly violated that faith without which government and societies are of no avail: they have sought to divide the Union, to palsy the arm of government, to impel to open war, by interested and base appeals to the avarice and the interested passions of the worst part of the community. As republicans we are willing to receive them; but we can never meet them *half* way—adopt *half* her errors, for the sake of being on terms with apostate federalism.” [Have we not invariably held this doctrine ?]

August 8, 1809. “Freedom of opinion in religion, as well as in those concerns which relate to civil polity, is the prevailing characteristic of a republic: without such freedom, our republican form of government degenerates at once into despotism. The true American principles, those principles whose unerring path has been invariably pursued by the illustrious JEFFERSON, and thus far followed by the amiable MADISON, have stood the test of experiment, and

proved themselves to be the immutable foundation on which is to rest the safety of our rights. Whatever good might at any time be attached to the federal party, it has ceased to exist with respect to the motives of the leaders of that party: they have now given over every thing American. Their exertions are in diametrical opposition to the independent exercise of our privileges." [This has always been our sentiment.]

Sept. 5, 1809. "It is the duty and privilege of a free people to search out the motives of their rulers—to look at the tendency of their measures—to see whether they be intended for personal popularity, or the public good." "The motives of the great body of the people are undoubtedly pure; but prejudice attaches them alike to erroneous and correct sentiments. While every other State in the Union renounced their erroneous opinions of polity in favor of the system of Mr. Jefferson—that system which has given us eight years of unexampled prosperity—Connecticut remained firm to the cause of federal stamp acts and taxes, standing armies and sedition bills." [Connecticut was subsequently partially regenerated—but where is she now?]

Oct. 3, 1809. "Whatever may now be the professions of the leaders of the Junto,—however they may discard former arrogance—however humble their attitude—"let them not be trusted;"—they stand ready, as well at this time as any other, to take advantage of circumstances."—"Never, till they renounce past errors, can they claim our confidence in public stations. As a party, they have cast on themselves an indelible stigma, an everlasting reproach." [Have they since wiped away that reproach?]

Nov. 21, 1809. "The people not only have a right to know what are the leading sentiments of a candidate for public favor, but they likewise are entitled to the liberty of making comparisons between public conduct and private professions. In this way only can they discriminate between the honest man and the hypocrite; between him who wishes well for his country, and him who seeks only for popular favor in popular delusion."

Dec. 12, 1809. "There are some men, it is well known, who have professedly been republicans, but who have bartered their principles either for considerations of personal favor or for British gold. Among these is James Cheetham of New-York, who publishes a paper which formerly ranked among the first of the defenders of the republican cause. His dereliction having produced an entire withdrawal of re-

publican support, he must look for a maintenance to some corrupt source. It is common now to see extracts published in federal papers from Cheetham's American Citizen, "a republican" or "democratic paper," justifying British insolence, and calling every American who is indignant at her insults, by some odious appellation. Let the people not be deceived by disgraceful opinions palmed upon them as the opinions of their friends."

January 16, 1810. "Honest men might have early imbibed an unfavorable opinion of the administration of Mr. Jefferson. What pious christian would not shudder to hear, and witnessing in superiors an apparent serious belief in, the stories told of the infidelity and atheism of Jefferson in 1801—how our meeting houses were to be destroyed, our bibles burnt—clergymen to suffer martyrdom, or renounce their religion—and like foolish tales.—But the inconsistencies of the leaders of the Anglo-federal party—the various grounds of opposition they have taken, at one time applauding the administration and afterwards condemning it for the same measures—their justification of the British, when they have added personal insult to national injury—must open the eyes of the blind. The question now between the two political parties is—shall we tamely submit to reiterated aggressions of foreign nations—shall we permit an agent of Britain to beard our Executive to the face, to give our government the lie with impunity? or will we defend our Independence? will we defend those rights for which our fathers fought and bled?"

Feb. 6, 1810. "If the question should be asked, What causes the disparity between the two administrations? (John Adams' and Jefferson's)—it may be answered—that in rendering unnecessary and abolishing the offices pertaining to the general administration, legislative and judicial departments included, the annual expenses were lessened more than one million of dollars—a host of excisemen, taxgatherers, &c. have been dismissed—the expenses of the naval and war departments have been lessened;—in fine, economy has taken the place of lavish expenditures, and reformation has been introduced into every department." [How is it under the second Adams? John Adams' or Thomas Jefferson's administrations—which does his resemble?]

March 20, 1810. "The result of the election (in which the patriot LANGDON triumphed over the federal candidate as the patriot PIERCE will triumph next year over the candidate of the federalists) has been a glorious triumph of the

friends of our Constitution and the union of the States. In spite of the fell fiends of discord and division—in spite of the machinations of enemies in and out of the State, the Republican cause has prevailed; it has passed the fiery ordeal, and proved that “THE TRUTH IS GREAT AND WILL PREVAIL.” Never was the rectitude of republican principles more thoroughly tested, and never had the friends of those principles greater cause to rejoice than in the result of this election.—They will rejoice, that the patriot of our revolution will be revered and esteemed, though assailed by the malignant powers of calumny and detraction—though two-edged slander has stabbed at his reputation.—They will rejoice at this practical comment upon republicans and federalists—that though the latter may triumph in momentary delusion, in times when there must be sacrifice of interest to present feeling—the former will blossom and flourish when the winter of delusion shall have passed away.”

F.

THE TRUE REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE OF EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS.

Extract from N. H. Patriot, 24 Nov. 1828.

PUNISH THE DECEIVERS, BUT RECLAIM THE DECEIVED !

The magnanimous generosity of republicans towards their political opponents, exhibited in all times of prosperity of the people's party, deserves at this time the public consideration. That generosity was indeed calculated to promote an “era of good feeling;” and had it been met by a corresponding generosity on the part of our political opponents, “good feelings” might have continued to the present moment.

But what has been the conduct of the old federal party under the mild and tolerant reign of republican principles? That party has turned the generosity, the kindly feelings of republicans into an engine for the destruction of republicans. That vindictive party has taken advantage of a pretended

"era of good feelings" to introduce a system of unrelenting persecution and proscription, and to create the most bitter animosities among republicans and friends.

We need only look back the short term of three years for conclusive proof of our position. What has been the conduct of the old federal party in New-Hampshire? Samuel Bell came to this town June session 1827, and made proclamation that the "LINES WERE NOW DRAWN," and that every friend of Gen. Jackson holding an office must be put out. This signal from a former adherent of the federal party was promptly answered by that party in a body; and from that time to this, aided by the treachery of those nominal republicans holding offices, every republican who was either a candidate for office or who was in office, has been hunted down like a wild beast of the forest. All the bitterness of the black cockade party of 1798—all the vindictive animosity of the "reign of terror" under John Adams, have returned under the restoration of the party which fell with the first Adams.

But the days of the second Adams are numbered and finished; and the vindictive aristocracy of New-England has, in the late election, met a repulse, a defeat more signal and decisive than in the great election in 1800.—What shall be done? Shall we again take to our bosoms the scorpions who have so repeatedly stung us? Shall we again extend to them all that "good feeling" which is due only to friends? Shall we use our influence to elect and appoint to office, and to continue in office, the men who have made use of all the influence which such offices gave them to destroy the republican party, and to libel and abuse the bravest defenders and the purest patriots of the country? Forbid it, our country—forbid it, Heaven!

Thus far the running account between the federal and the republican parties—an awful account which the present generation of that party can never cancel, involving that breach of good faith, that violation of all the principles of common right and justice, that utter destitution of all the natural feelings of gratitude, which man would condemn in the brute: What shall we then say of those ungrateful men who to the sin of ingratitude have added that of deep apostacy and treachery to the republican party; who, not content with better treatment from the republican party than ever their deserts merited, have aimed a deadly stab at the party which had sustained them and taken some of them

from the very mire of disgrace and bestowed on them honors and emoluments which the worthy alone deserved ?

That the most considerable portion of those men calling themselves republicans in this State who have thus far supported the cause of the second Adams, did so from no unworthy motive, we frankly admit. Many have been deceived by the reiterated falsehoods of the Coalition—many have not intended, although their exertions have had the direct effect of doing it, to be instrumental in giving the ascendancy to the old federal party, and thereby introducing in this State a second reign of terror. These men, finding gross deception practised upon them, will return to the fold from which they have strayed; they are but a small portion of the strength of the State—probably not one sixteenth of the legal voters; but they will be sufficient at our very next election to give the Democracy of the State a triumphant ascendancy. The men in office, the twaddlers, the recreants from the republican party, who have practised every species of deception on the people—the men who have circulated coffin handbills and other vile calumnies and falsehoods on the character of the republican candidate for the Presidency, will deserve a separate place from all others—as politicians they must and they will be execrated so long as they shall claim affinity to any party.

Is it now thought that Gen. Jackson and the friends of Gen. Jackson, burying in immediate oblivion their deeds, will meet and treat these men as worthy of future confidence ? Can it be supposed, that Samuel Bell and the office-hunters who have joined him—the men in this State who proscribed and removed from office every individual friendly to Gen. Jackson—will again be received as republicans worthy our confidence ? When John Bell came to take his place as Governor in June, as if desiring to conceal his shame, he stole into the town, and went the back way into the *back door* of the capitol; his first magnanimous act after taking the oath, was to dismiss a republican door-keeper who had fought the battles of his country; thus evincing that although he had not courage to meet the people face to face, he was valiant to set the example of removing every independent democrat from office.

Can it be expected that the republicans will hereafter cherish the vipers whose association has poisoned the republican party ? Is it the duty of republicans to continue in office those who have converted their offices into instruments with which to oppress them ? Will it not be their

boaden duty to cleanse the Augean stable—to clear away that mass of corruption which has poisoned all our channels of information?

Every State in New-England is now governed by the same aristocracy that ruled in 1798—that ruled during the late war. The republicans here are in a minority: but the late elections show them to be a glorious majority of the whole Union. A band of New-England democrats have encountered the dominant party at vast odds—they have suffered every species of persecution and contumely. Shall these men not be protected by the Administration of the people under Gen. Jackson? If that Administration fail to extend this protection, then indeed will it fail of one of the principal objects for which the people placed them in power by at least two to one of the votes of the Union.

G.

MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE PENSION BILL,
In Senate of United States, 27 April 1832.

The Pension Bill was taken up, the question being on the amendment extending the provisions of the bill to those who fought in the Indian wars, in the northwest and southwest, prior to the year 1795.

Mr. ROBINSON moved, that the bill be re-committed, with instructions to substitute for the pensions proposed in the bill, donations of public land, in tracts not less than the eighth of a section, nor exceeding two sections, to officers and soldiers who served for six months, as militia or volunteers, or in the regular army, during the war of the Revolution, or in any wars prior to the year 1795.

Messrs. FOOT, GRUNDY and WHITE addressed the Senate—

Mr. HILL then rose, and spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—I was much surprised at the ungenerous manner in which the bill for the relief of a few of the surviving soldiers of the Revolution was treated, when it was first brought up for discussion in this House; and I re-

gret still more to see it assuming the shape of a sectional question. The Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Hayne,] has not, on this occasion done justice to his own characteristic candor, when he says, that the bill of the Senate will embrace nearly the whole mass of the population in the country, who are of age to have been soldiers of the Revolution; he did not seem to treat the subject with his wonted fairness, when he left it to be inferred, that the public money was to be bestowed on unworthy, undeserving objects.— Let me assure the gentleman, that this is, by many patriots, considered a legitimate and fair subject of legislation—a subject on which there cannot be said to be even a division of opinion throughout a large section of the country. If Senators will not respect this unanimous sentiment on *one* subject, how can they claim, that an unanimous opinion in their section, on *another* subject, shall be regarded by other Senators?

We have heard much, since the commencement of this session, of the State of South Carolina; some of us have sympathized with her privations and sufferings, and have at least wished to relieve them. Indeed, Sir, South Carolina has been directly relieved during the present session. A bill has been passed, in both branches of the Legislature, making that State a generous allowance for all her expenditures, not already reimbursed, incurred during the late war. That State had been previously allowed, it is to be presumed, all the existing laws would give her. The claims of other States, for similar expenditures, have never been allowed. The State of New-Hampshire, a large portion of whose citizens from the dawn of the revolution to the close of the late war with Great Britain, have always been ready to shoulder their muskets and march wherever danger and duty called them, made expenditures during the late war for which she has never preferred a claim to Congress; many of her patriotic townships voted money to pay these expenses without even calling on the State to reimburse them; volunteer companies were raised and marched to defend the assailable points of the State; those who could not go, contributed their money to pay the expenses of those who did go; and this without ever expecting to prefer a claim on the State or nation. These expenses never can be reimbursed, because they were not made a matter of charge at the time, and because they cannot now be identified so as to become items of claim. But for the sums actually paid under the authority of the State, New-Hampshire has never been re-

imbursed; the money actually expended and claimed was not all allowed. South Carolina has been paid all she claims for similar services, principal and interest, during the present session; the bill does not state the precise sum she will receive—some say it is between one and two hundred thousand dollars—others say it will be much more. South Carolina must admit, that in one instance at least, the general government has been to her not only just but generous.

I care not, Mr. President, what part of the Union will derive the most benefit from a pension law providing for the comfort and relief of the soldiers of the revolution; be it north or south, it will be my pride and my pleasure that my voice and my vote have contributed to the passage of such a law. If it goes to the greater benefit of my immediate constituents, so much the better because they have better deserved it; not that it were worse at all if other States have a superior claim, and shall receive a larger amount.

In my section of the country, there is but one opinion openly expressed on this question; and that is, that the soldiers of the revolution were never paid for their services, and that the present generation owe to the few survivors a liberal provision. The public domain, now released from that portion of the revolutionnary debt which was funded, stands pledged to the survivors of that revolution; if the government has the title deed to that domain, the veterans who gained that title deed by campaigns of blood and privation are virtually the owners. Much of the legitimate debt of the revolution was never paid at all—was never even funded; and of that portion which was funded, in nine cases out of ten, the soldiers suffered the depreciation, while the more wealthy—and some of them hostile to the revolution itself—purchasing up these claims for a shilling in the pound, became the owners of that debt. In thousands of cases, such was the depreciation of his pay, that with the kind of money he received, the soldier on his return home could not obtain a pair of shoes or a garment to cover him, and was obliged to journey all but barefoot and naked. An immense portion of the debt of the revolution—more especially the expenses incurred by volunteers and militia, who were not in the continental line—was swept off entirely by depreciation. The regular soldiers were better paid than the militia and volunteers; and this is a strong reason why the latter shall now be included.

I cannot say what might be my opinion or my vote were

this a subject now for the first time agitated. I am opposed to appropriations for any and every object—I am opposed to the pensioning system generally. I think when men work for the government for pay, either in a civil or military capacity, the pay agreed on and expected at the time, is all the pay to which they are entitled. I would pension no man who has received his full amount of pay, except he shall have been disabled in the public service. But the case of the soldiers of the revolution differs from all others which may happen or can happen.

In the first place, it is a matter of notoriety that they never did receive the value of the pay to which they were entitled: they were paid in a depreciated currency. The most of them, who had families and property at home, sacrificed their all, and returned from the army penniless. A small portion of these, beginning the world anew, acquired property and maintained themselves comfortably: another portion struggled against poverty during the remainder of their lives; but many, very many soon passed off the stage before they had realized the mighty benefits which this nation acquired from their exertions.

In the second place, if it could be admitted they did receive the full pay stipulated, their case differs so much from any other case that can occur, that there is no danger the relief proposed by the bill, can be drawn into a precedent. There was then no government, except the arbitrary power which assumed to rule—that power claimed the right to make of us slaves and vassals. Resistance to this power was looked upon as treason; and unsuccessful resistance was certain of such a punishment as would have entailed degradation and misery upon all then living, and upon ~~us~~ their posterity. The debt we owe to the brave men who then took their lives in their hands, and marched to face an enemy, more potent than any other nation of the world, can never be repaid. The public sentiment will bear us out in granting all they ask: our generosity in other cases may deserve the public censure—but generosity to the soldiers of the revolution will never be reprehended by a just and a magnanimous people.

Although much is due to those brave men who have encountered the Indian warfare in the west, since the revolution, it is not right in my belief to unite them with those for whom relief is proposed in the present bill. Great as is my respect for the Senators who advocate such a proposition, I cannot resist the conviction that its tendency is entirely to

defeat the bill itself. I wish the soldiers of the revolution to stand on their own merits: if a majority of the Legislature, taking their case alone, will not sustain them, I should be unwilling to carry this bill by bringing in any other interest to their aid. I must consider every other vote in favor of any proposition to unite the two cases as having a direct tendency to defeat both.

The country, for the first time is in a situation to do justice to the soldiers of the revolution without exhausting the treasury, or adding to the burdens of the people. They can receive all that is required, after proper deductions shall be made in the Tariff; and the sum will be so small as scarcely to be felt. It will not delay for a moment the entire payment of the public debt—it will stint no appropriation for any legitimate object. If it operate at all, it will only leave a million less per annum, (and this decreasing in amount every succeeding year,) to be scrambled for and expended on some canal or rail road, intended for the benefit of some favored sectional interest.

I could wish, Mr. President, for the sake of an unanimous expression in favor of this bill, that the remaining soldiers of the revolution had been spread in equal proportion over the whole country. Could this be, I would willingly yield for the North all the little advantage we shall receive if the bill passes. This however cannot be. The new States cannot receive as much as the old States; nor can those old States which were the theatre of war in the last three or four years be entitled to as much as those States where the war commenced, and which turned out men through the whole revolution. Accident merely gives an advantage to the northern and middle of the old States. But this circumstance ought to have no weight. Go where it will, it cannot be called an unequal distribution. The men who receive it have been constant contributors to the public treasury; and they are of that class few of which have at any time been benefitted by the public expenditures. Referring to the State of New-Hampshire alone, which has, as well in the war of the revolution as in the war of 1812, furnished as many men as any other State of her size and numbers, and more in proportion to her wealth, I can safely say that there has not been expended for her immediate and local benefit, ten cents to the dollar of what she has actually contributed to the public treasury.

The amount of money which this bill will call from the treasury has been much magnified: I have heard it stated as

high as five millions of dollars per annum. To give some color to this high amount, it has been said that the calculations made when the first pension law passed were much exceeded by the actual expenditure. The calculations then were made without sufficient data. The existence of the several pension laws has unfolded facts and circumstances which can enable every one to make more accurate calculations; and I must believe that the calculations of the Committee cannot be very far from the truth. And even supposing those calculations fall short one third or one half, the sum will amount to scarcely one fourth what has been predicted; it will scarcely exceed what is this year asked for the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, while another equal amount is required for its powerful competitor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in addition to a million already granted.

I need not repeat the calculations contained in the reports of the Pension Committees in the Senate and House of Representatives—those reports have been printed and laid upon our tables. The facts and calculations presented by the two Committees, although made for different bills, are well agreed in the main—neither of these reports authorized the expectation that the amount necessary to be appropriated would much exceed a million of dollars per annum.

The pension bill of 1818 had, on its face, authorized the revolutionary soldiers to entertain expectations which had never been realized; thousands of them had spent their time and their substance to procure the necessary proofs required by the law and the construction put upon it by the Secretary of War—their money and their labor had been expended in vain—their applications had been rejected. In many instances, of two neighbors living side by side, each equally requiring pecuniary aid from the country, one had been pensioned and the other rejected. Other instances had occurred where the soldier exercising a rigid economy had earned and secured some three or four hundred dollars, and was denied a pension, while his more improvident or more unfortunate neighbor who was worth a few dollars less was pensioned and placed in a condition which might be considered enviable when compared with that of the other.

The law of 1828 had pensioned all the remaining officers and soldiers of the continental line who were in service at the close of the war, without regard to the property they might possess; that law, as well as the law of 1818 was par-

tial in its operations—it embraced some cases of merit, but it left other cases of greater merit untouched.

The former legislation of Congress has authorized every soldier embraced in the present bill, to claim as a matter of right what this bill will give him. The decided expression of the House of Representatives at the last session had made it all but certain that this justice would now be done, inasmuch as the Senate had not then indicated any opinion adverse to it. What must be the feelings of these men on the extreme verge of life, if they shall now be denied what all our acts have conceded to be their right, and what the strong voice of public sentiment has accorded to them? Let us not, at this late period—let not Congress, which has presented as a gratuity to a distinguished and beloved *foreigner* for similar services what would make a hundred soldiers rich—now deny to our *native* citizens that small sum which will smooth their path to the grave! Can we deny this boon to the few survivors without adding another item to the list which the enemies of our free institutions have registered against us, as a proof that “Republics alone are ungrateful?”

H.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH AT A PUBLIC DINNER GIVEN HIM AT CONCORD, August, 1832.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—For the last twenty-five years it has been my lot to have been a mark for the public gaze; never, during the whole of that time, has it been my good fortune to please the men who have constantly opposed the democracy of the country—at no time have I been a favorite, or even conciliated the good opinion either of those who have always been at war with free principles, or of those who have vacillated between the parties for the sake of office or the emoluments of office.

But during the whole time I have been before the public, if I have never pleased the sticklers for aristocracy—if I have conciliated neither the “federalists” of 1809, the “Washingtonians” and “peace party men” of 1812, the

"no party men" of 1816, the "Adams men" of 1824, nor the Henry Clay and American System men of 1829, '30, '31, '32—I have always found among the honest Yeomanry of the Granite State, men whose friendship has never quailed. Those friends were the bone and muscle of democracy twenty-three years ago—they were then the supporters of Thomas Jefferson and John Langdon. They are still the bone and muscle of the democracy, and they are now the supporters of Andrew Jackson and the free principles contended for by the patriots of 1798. It gives me pleasure to meet at this festive board several of those old and steady friends, some of whom even participated in the scenes of the revolution which gave birth to our freedom, and all of whom have derived their principles from the fathers of that school. It gives me more pleasure to be able to say that I have enjoyed the uniform friendship, through good report and through evil report, of such men, than if I were able to make the complacent declaration that I had never offended any body, because I had always treated alike the friends and the enemies of our republican institutions, and that I was at this moment as much the favorite and friend of the one as of the other.

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There can be no mistake as to the identity of this party even under all the disguises it has assumed. The bitter opponents of the war of 1812, in New-England, are now almost to a man the most malevolent and unforgiving enemies of the administration of Andrew Jackson. Look around you, my friends: can you find in the State of New-Hampshire, so many as one hundred old federalists who opposed Jefferson and Langdon, and the war of 1812, who are not the enemies of the present administration, who, repudiating their old name of *federalists*, do not now claim to be "National Republicans" and friends to Henry Clay and his "American System?"

It is the old party with a new disguise that would upturn heaven and earth to procure a change of the present administration. This party at all times has with open arms received to its embraces the traitors to democratic principles: there never has been a time when some, of more or less consideration, have not been found joining their ranks. As an encouragement to such acquisitions, the party has bid high or low, according to its necessity. Of late years, the traitors to democracy have generally received the highest rewards. In this State, from 1824 to 1828, scarcely other

than recreant democrats were by this party openly nominated to any office. It became, at length, a subject of complaint that while nine tenths of the rank and file of the party were old federalists, all the offices were filled by those who had formerly acted with the democrats. The federalists insisted on having a share; accordingly two of their most distinguished leaders were placed on their nomination for Congress in 1829, when the whole party fell into a minority of more than three thousand, which has since been increased to nearly ten thousand, leaving that party hopeless, except by art and management they shall succeed in fomenting dissension among the present adherents of democracy.

It must have been remarked by those who have watched the course of politicians in this country, that new converts evince more zeal and will go greater lengths than those who have steadily belonged to the same party. What men of the federal party are more violent at this time than those who went over to that party from our ranks, and who have been conspicuous in many of the public offices of the State for the few years preceding the revolution of 1829? Several of these remain in office whose terms have not yet expired; and not one of them, to my knowledge, hesitates to hold on to his office or to make use of its influence against the State and National administrations which have been sanctioned by a large majority of the people.

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Standing as I do in the Senate alone from New-England friendly to Andrew Jackson—coming there in despite of a political intolerance as desperate and unrelenting as ever existed in this or any other country; it will not surprise you, gentlemen, nor my fellow citizens of New-Hampshire generally, to be informed that I neither entered the Senate on personal good terms with some gentlemen of that body, nor have my course of conduct or my votes been such as to conciliate their kindness or good wishes. It never was, and I trust in God it never will be, in me to compromise my principles or my duty to my constituents for the favor or good graces of any man. As humble men in pretensions as myself can and do receive the personal attentions even of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. I have not been the favorite or received the personal attentions of either: one of them has once deigned to notice the “still small voice” from the East, as the solitary individual in the Senate from that part of the Union opposed to his

aggrandizing schemes of bargaining for the votes of the People for the Presidency, and at another time has reproached me for reading, as he said badly, extracts from his own speech against the Bank of the United States in 1811. The other, has preserved generally a dignified silence, content that the louder yelpers of his kennel from Maine and Delaware, (Holmes and Clayton,) whose low and blackguard efforts were quite too indecent and too vulgar even to find a place in the most worthless opposition prints of the country, should set upon me.

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The opposition in Congress were highly incensed that their predictions of the bankruptcy and ruin of the Post Office Department had not been verified. They supposed that such a result must necessarily follow from the increased facilities that had been given to the transmission of the public mails, and the extraordinary expenses incurred by granting these facilities. They were mistaken—for although the great mail from Washington to New-Orleans had been expedited to nearly double speed, and the mails to the other principal points of the Union in a similar ratio; although the number of post offices had been increased one fourth, and the transportation from thirteen to fifteen millions of miles; the annual revenue was likewise increased in a ratio sufficient more than to cover all this expense, enabling the Department to extend still farther the mail facilities after the first of January next over more than twenty thousand miles of new mail roads.

As if determined to break down the Department, the plan to abolish newspaper postage was pursued with great zeal and ardor by the opposition members of the Senate. The newspapers already carried in the mail are probably as ten to one in weight when compared with letters; while the revenue derived from them is less than as one to ten of the letters. The effect of abolishing newspaper postage would have been to increase the weight of the mail four fold, rendering extra carriages necessary on all the great routes; and the annihilation of nearly all the village newspapers in the country, making the business of publishing newspapers a monopoly to wealthy men in the large cities. One of the Senators (Holmes of Maine) boldly avowed the object of the opposition Senators who unanimously voted for this bill to be the giving their newspapers at the seat of government the privilege of going free to all parts of the country, that they might break down this administration. He said the parties

stood on equal ground during the sitting of Congress, for then one could frank as many newspapers as the other; but that the administration had the advantage in the public officers franking during the recess. His remedy for this supposed advantage was, abolishing newspaper postage entirely. Happily the proposition to break in upon the Post Office Department was ultimately defeated in the Senate by a single vote.

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Another prominent subject showing the utter recklessness of the leaders of the two branches of the opposition in the Senate, was the rejection of the President's nomination of **MARTIN VAN BUREN** to be minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain. I have recently been informed that when Mr. Webster received intelligence how certain vacancies were filled in the Senate in the course of the last year, he declared before he left Boston, that Mr. Van Buren's nomination would be rejected! This previous declaration serves to unfold the duplicity of the man who in such solemn terms, when the nomination came to be acted on, declared his abhorrence of party spirit, and who so feelingly portrayed his regard for the honor of "the country and the whole country" so deeply tarnished in the despatches which the President directed Mr. Van Buren to write to Mr. M'Lane!

There is not perhaps in the world a man of greater amenity of manners, a man of more personal civility, a man who in all social intercourse treats more alike both political friends and opponents, than Mr. Van Buren. The men who were most embittered against him in the Senate, especially Mr. Webster, had often participated in his hospitality and kindness; indeed it is scarcely a year since it was noticed in the opposition papers that Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren were arm in arm at the Springs and enjoying there in high glee each other's society. The heart of that man may be better conceived than described which could, in the absence of an intimate if not a personal friend, make a calculation from the election of Senators how he might be personally and politically prostrated, and afterwards carry that calculation into effect by feigning a reason which was any thing but a true reason, and by a course of caucus drilling and management such as would disgrace the veriest demagogue. No wonder, when Mr. Van Buren returned, the Senator from Massachusetts could not meet or look him in the face! There is no object of so strong aversion, as the individual by another individual most injured.

The rejection of Mr. Van Buren has, however, had a very different effect from that contemplated by its authors.—Several weeks time were taken up in so arranging the votes of Senators as to effect his rejection—the three leaders, (Messrs. Clay, Calhoun and Webster) were incessantly engaged until the requisite number of Senators was secured—there was more than one honest man deceived. But after all, the effort only went to disgrace those who made it—to arouse the spirit of the nation at the indignity which was offered to the President—and to unite the great democratic party throughout the Union on the most suitable person for the second office in the government.

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I have thus glanced at some of the matters which have been the basis of the proceedings of one of the longest sessions of Congress since the adoption of the Constitution.—Condemning as I do the whole course of the opposition—believing as I do their incentive to action was not a wish to promote the public good, but a desire to supplant the present administration and a determination to oppose its measures right or wrong. I must attribute the obliquity to that *esprit du corps* which leads a mass of individuals to do that collectively, which separately, they could not be induced to do. With few exceptions, the members of the Senate who have acted with the opposition are amiable and exemplary in all their private relations, and preserve the character of gentlemen. It is to be regretted that such men should feel themselves under obligations to follow in the wake of political leaders grown utterly desperate and reckless from chagrin and disappointment that the people are no longer inclined in them to place confidence.

The man whose unbending integrity will not suffer him to look on corruption, on bargain and management, with complacency—who would not turn on his heel to save himself in the most honorable office in the world—who shrinks not to discharge his duty and his whole duty come what will; this man, standing in the way of ambitious demagogues who would cheat the people of their rights, in the way of monopolies, who would manage the wealth of the country and control its industry, is more than any other the object of present attention. By his friends he is admired with enthusiasm—by his foes he is contemned with loud execrations. I have seen this man at various times and in various situations; I have seen him while under excited feelings, and in the scenes of calm and quiet enjoyment

He never speaks behind a man's back what he will not say before his face; excited on any subject, he is one of the most interesting and eloquent men of the age. He converses freely, and on every topic discovers a profound judgment looking far into consequences, and an intimate knowledge of human nature. He is probably a greater if not a more learned Statesman than any other now living in the United States. And it may be fearlessly averred that no public man in America ever had a more thorough knowledge of every subject on which he was called to act, than has President Jackson. I have never known a candid political opponent spend any time with him so as to listen to his conversation, who has not left him with the declaration that he had been entirely deceived in relation to his manners, his intelligence, and his general character.

Mr. President, I have already taken up too much time, and have probably tired the patience of the company. In conclusion I will give as a sentiment, what, in my belief, will always distinguish the true from a false political faith:

The doctrines practised by the Democracy of the Granite State—A limited Government, State Rights, Rotation in Office, Economy in the public expenditures, no unnecessary Taxation, and universal Liberty and Equality.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE LAND BILL, In Senate of the United States, 22d Jan. 1833.

* * * * * I must protest against the principles which are involved in the bill proposed to be amended.

The original proposition presents itself as a direct appeal to the cupidity of the several State governments in which the people are supposed to have a nearer interest than in the General Government—it is an invitation to take and eat of the forbidden tree, with the assurance "thou shalt not surely die."

The friends of a high tariff in the old States are supposed to advocate the bill, while the opponents of a high tariff in the old States oppose it. The interest of the tariff and an-

ti-tariff States, so far as relates to the reception of the dividend proposed, must be the same. Money must be as acceptable to the State of Georgia as to the State of Massachusetts. Why, then, does not Georgia seek the same disposition of the public lands as does Massachusetts? Georgia well knows that the proceeds of the public lands, abstracted from the Treasury, creates the necessity of raising, by taxation on the consumption of the country, an equal amount; and Massachusetts, in the same thing, fancies that this additional taxation goes so much for the protection of that class of her citizens who have invested capital in various manufactures.

The idea is altogether fallacious, that the great mass of the people of this country can be benefitted by the division of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several States. So long as the legitimate expenditures of the National Government exceed the amount of revenue raised from any other than public property, so long will such a division of the avails of the public lands among the several States lessen the burdens of the people not at all.—We will see what will be the operation of this dividend on the State of New-Hampshire.

It will be admitted by all to be bad policy to raise money in any government for the purpose simply of distributing it among those who have originally contributed it. The expenses of collection and distribution and the interest or use of the money raised during the term of the whole process are so much dead loss. The distribution of the avails of the sales of the public lands, so long as it is necessary to raise money by impost or otherwise, is still worse in principle than the taxation and the distribution to which I have alluded. It is worse to New-Hampshire and to all the States on the seaboard, because while those States receive less than their proportion from the public lands, they pay more than their proportion of the taxes on imports to support the government.

In the distribution of three millions of dollars, the proportion of New-Hampshire will be about sixty thousand. This sixty thousand dollars, augmented by the expensé of collection and the greater portion of duties paid by consumers on the seaboard than by those living far in the interior who consume less, will bring upon her an additional tax of at least one hundred thousand dollars; so that for every sixty cents received she pays out a dollar in new taxes. If an

individual in his own private affairs were to engage in such a speculation as this, he would be set down as a fool.

But it is not the loss from the speculation itself that I so much deprecate—it is the demoralizing effect the dividend must have on the healthy action of our State Governments. Where a State has incurred an enormous debt in attempting to make internal improvements in unproductive roads and canals, the application of the dividend might be well applied to discharge the interest upon an interminable burden which has been thrown upon such State; and when thus applied would no longer be a subject of controversy; but in a State like New-Hampshire—a State which has been too poor to run herself millions in debt on splendid projects of roads and canals; a State whose hardy yeomanry have contrived to make tolerably convenient roads and to improve the navigation of their rivers without either running the State as such in debt, or asking Congress for appropriations; in New-Hampshire this appropriation of sixty thousand dollars annually—if indeed the whole proceeds of the public lands shall hereafter give her this as a dividend—would go to turn our State government topsy turvy.

The State would never consent that any portion of this dividend should go for the purpose of colonizing free blacks in Africa. But if it was to be applied for objects of internal improvement, there would be an annual scrambling in the Legislature that would keep up a constant warfare between the different sections of the State. The West there, would have an interest in making improvements which would carry away the business from the East; the extreme North would turn her roads towards the State of Maine, and the South would draw them towards Massachusetts, while the only seaport, and commercial capital of the State would consider that she had a claim that all the money should be expended to bring the whole business of the State into her lap. The result would be, that the strong would combine and deprive the weak of their proportion of the benefits—that these benefits would be unequal—that new expedients would be resorted to to give the appropriation a different direction; and that the State would be kept from year to year in a turmoil. Thousands of dollars of the dividend would be expended in useless legislation, in contriving ways and means to secure some portion of the money.

Projects of improvement would be started involving a greater expenditure than the land fund would warrant.—Some bridge, or road, or canal, which had been begun and

under-estimated—for what project of this kind, in its incipient state, was ever estimated at half its cost?—must be completed; the land fund from Congress fails. The State must hire money or raise additional sums by taxes to carry the improvement on. Where credit is good as that of a city corporation or State, loans may be effected, if not in this country, in Europe; and posterity may have entailed upon it a perpetual tax to pay the annual interest on money applied to such improvements as will not afford even a sufficient income to pay for their own repairs.

Is the land dividend applied to purposes of education? it will then be a matter of dispute whether it shall go to a high school or a common school, to a college or an academy—to prepare the pupil for the pulpit or the bar, for surgery or physic—or whether males exclusively, or females, or both, shall be entitled to its benefits.

If, Mr. President, the amount of dividend was so much gain to a State, the inconveniences that might arise from State legislation on this subject were not worthy to be named. But when it is considered that the State has to contribute its full share, and to pay a larger tax to fill the vacancy which the abstraction of this dividend has produced, “folly with his cap and bells” could not appear more ridiculous than this project.

Are the State Governments to be reduced to abject dependence on the treasury of the nation? Are they to depend on the breath and the favor of the two branches of Congress? Are they to come here crouching for the means to enable them to educate their children, or to complete some great public improvement; at the same time they are taxed in what they eat, drink and wear, to fill that vacuum in the national chest which has been produced by the donation? Do you call this a gift, a favor, to any State?

It has become evident to my mind that we must either confine the Legislation of the Federal Government to the defined objects of the Federal Constitution, or present that continued collision between the National and State Governments which must end in consolidation, anarchy and ultimate dissolution. I am of those, Mr. President, who believe Congress is no less potent under the powers expressly granted to it by the people of the States than the legislatures of the States are by the powers granted them by the people of each State. Rightly practised upon, there is a beauty and a harmony in our Constitutions, forever assuring the liberties of the people.

The framers of the Constitution never intended that the National Government should raise money to be distributed among the State Governments, any more than they intended that the common funds of the General Government should be dissipated in splendid projects of internal improvement.—When Virginia ceded her title to the present States and territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, “as a common fund” to discharge the debts of the revolution, could it be believed it was the intention of the terms of the compact that at any future time the avails of those funds should be paid over directly by the General Government to the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut?

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The extinction of our national debt presents this nation in an attitude to excite the admiration of the world; there is probably on record no other instance of the kind. Now is the favorable time to put that practical construction upon the Constitution which shall confine the government within its acknowledged limits, and leave full scope for the States to act in their several spheres. It will be impossible that this government shall go on, if Congress shall permanently assume powers which the framers of the Constitution never intended to grant; such, for instance, as the right to make unlimited appropriations for internal improvements, for roads, bridges, and canals, by which the people of the several States are to be bought up with their own money. If this power be contested, as I trust it will be successfully, what shall we say of the right of Congress to divide any portion of the common funds of the country among the States for the same object?

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It has been said in debate, [by Mr. Chambers,] that this bill has been hailed in all parts of the country, as a measure of justice, and that “it is a just and equal distribution.”—Just so far, and no farther, has this bill been applauded, as the “American System” and the desire to keep up the duties on articles of consumption at the highest point, have found favor. The legislature of Vermont, in the fear that her iron manufactures will not be protected if an enormous duty shall not be continued on that article necessary for the comfort and sustenance of the poor as well as the rich, has passed resolutions in favor of this land bill. An attempt was made to steal through the legislature of New-Hampshire resolutions to the same effect the last evening of its last session; but the resolutions were voted out of the House by

nearly two to one. The legislators of that State had not forgotten that their predecessors, so long ago as June 22, 1821, had resolved, that "any partial appropriation of the public lands for State purposes, is a violation of the spirit of our national compact, as well as the principles of justice and sound policy."

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For myself, Mr. President, I had rather the few thousand dollars which I possess in a manufacturing establishment should be sunk in the bottom of the sea than to see, not the Union rent in twain, for that "must and will be preserved"—but a spirit of hostility between the different sections of the country engendered and perpetuated in the repeated attempts of the stronger to take advantage of the weaker. To the threats of any State holding herself in a menacing attitude towards this happy Union, believing as I may that she has been impelled by politicians whose motives are any thing but commendable, I would not yield an inch; so neither would I be prevented from prosecuting a course of right and justice to other patriotic States, because such a process would disarm the refractory even of a pretext for doing wrong. The bill for dividing the proceeds of the public lands—inasmuch as it will furnish occasion for continuing millions of taxes on imports which might otherwise be dispensed with—inasmuch as it is one of the means to keep up a system calculated to promote public discontent and even threatens bloodshed and civil war—has my decided disapprobation.

J.

MR. HILL'S LETTER TO THE TYPOGRAPHICAL FESTIVAL, held at Concord, 28 Nov. 1833.

CONCORD, N. H. Nov. 18, 1833.

GENTLEMEN,—It would have given me great pleasure to be able to attend the Typographical supper on the 28th, to which your polite card had invited me. My public duty at the city of Washington requires that I should leave town before that time.

It is now nearly a quarter of a century, since just emerged from an apprenticeship of seven years, in a country village

printing office, I commenced the business of a practical printer in Concord. The greater portion of what little education I have received, has been in the printing office; having never been to a school, of any sort, after the age of fourteen, and, up to that time, under the small means of instruction afforded in a rough, new settled town; for nearly twenty years of early life, the whole time for study and improvement had been taken from that usually devoted to rest or relaxation from severe personal labor.

No inconsiderable share of the present prosperity of this flourishing village is to be attributed to the enterprise and industry of her printers and publishers.

To them, perhaps, more than to any other profession, is it due that business from all parts of the State has particularly centred here; and of all the mechanical callings, it is believed that those connected with printing and the manufacture of books and newspapers are much more numerous than any other. When I first commenced here in 1809, there were three small printing houses only, the whole united apparatus of which would be scarcely sufficient to print a large sized weekly newspaper of the present time. With the aid of a single journeyman and my eldest brother then under twenty years of age, the Patriot newspaper was printed weekly, and such jobs of printing as came in from customers were executed in addition. The printing press I then had was one that had been used at Norwich, Connecticut, to print a newspaper of foolscap size, during the war of the revolution; and the types were a remnant of those which had been nearly worn out by Mr. Etheridge of Charlestown, in printing a quarto bible, &c. The whole expense of the office was about \$300; and it was really worth, perhaps half that sum. My colleagues in the business, in this town, were the late veteran printer George Hough, and our friend Jesse Carr Tuttle, the latter of whom printed a rival political newspaper. Mr. Hough had a font of Small Pica, and about a hundred pounds of old brevier type; and he had a printing press not quite as rickety as mine, because he had sold my predecessor the older one, and bought another that had not been used probably more than twenty years, and this constituted nearly the whole of his apparatus. He very rarely had more than one apprentice; but he always worked himself when he had a job of printing on hand, and obtained other occasional assistance. With the exception of my predecessor in the Patriot, William Hoyt, Jr. who, I believe was an apprentice of his, Mr. Hough was one of the

most accurate and neat printers I have ever known. The former, to my knowledge, has repeatedly presented a proof sheet of eight octavo pages without a single error. The latter was proverbially moderate in all his movements; he was a politician of the ancient school, eschewing every thing that did not coincide with the doctrine practised by the federal party thirty-five and forty years ago. We were always at swords points in our political opinions, contending each at or near the two extremes, but even during that time of great political heat, the years 1812, 13 and 14, we were personally on so good terms that we printed and published together, at either office, two large octavo volumes of Congressional documents and debates, he leaving to me, as I had been principally instrumental in obtaining the subscribers, the selection of documents and speeches for publication.

As for our other colleague printer, Mr. Tuttle, his also were the old Scotch types which had long been used by Mr. Hough, and nearly every thing done in his office was the newspaper; this was at first larger than the Patriot, and better supported with advertising patronage. His paper, the Concord Gazette, generally was conducted by a hired editor of liberal education, and had besides written contributions from most of the professional men on that side of the question in the town; while the Patriot had no one to depend upon but the young printer, who lacked much the advantages of experience, and, as all his opponents insisted, of the sound discretion necessary to the proper management of a newspaper. It is true, we were always actuated by a zeal which was scarcely ever at all restricted by considerations of personal interest; but if our zeal has not been misdirected more than half of the time, an honest motive must turn the scale in our favor. Our friend Tuttle generally had two or three apprentices and sometimes a journeyman; but, for himself, he was never fond of the printing office. He was most at home in that business which is now and has been for years his occupation—a team of horses and a snap of the whip were his delight. He did almost every thing and any thing with his horses; and not having enough to do on his own premises, he teamed to help others carry on their land; and hence for more than twenty years he has had affixed to him the honorable appellation of *Farmer Tuttle*. About the time of the close of the late war he sold out his newspaper to a family of printers by the name of Spear; but in their hands the Concord Gazette did even

worse than in those of our Farmer, until it was finally discontinued, leaving the Patriot the whole field.

Such was the condition of our art in this place twenty years ago. At this time there are six different newspaper establishments in the village, and these constitute but a small portion of the printing done here. There are probably more than twenty different kinds of school books stereotyped and published here, some of which find a market at more than a thousand miles distance. I had the gratification to present the President and Vice President of the United States and the Secretaries of War and Navy, who visited this town last summer, with specimens of the fine Bible stereotyped and manufactured by Luther Roby & Co. and of the Christiau Harmony, a volume of Music published by Horatio Hill & Co. Specimens, the almost entire material of which was produced here and which twenty years ago would have been thought wonderful if produced by the best artists in Europe.

It is only necessary, gentlemen, that industry, vigilance and economy should be practised to continue the advance here of this, which is justly denominated the "art of arts." To the young men of Concord engaged in this profession I will say, "Go on, and prosper!" And for them especially will I ask leave to present the following sentiment:

Employers and Employed. Not less honorable is the apprentice who labors than the master who is benefitted by that labor. Fidelity and industry in the one are the sure precursors of prosperity and success to the same person when he shall arrive in the position of the other.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant;

ISAAC HILL.

Messrs. E. G. EASTMAN, }
AMOS HEAD, } Committee.
W. OBLIN, }

K.

**EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE
REMOVAL OF THE DEPOSITES, In Senate of United States, 3d and 4th March, 1834.**

It is believed, however strong may be the doubts of the committee, against the Bank seeking for political power, that there are millions of the people of America, who have no doubts on the subject. They understand the definition of the offence, "what acts constitute it"—"how it should be tried"—"who is to be the judge"—and what "shall be the punishment." And although the committee think the charge too general too be either proved or disproved, they want no stronger proof than the admission of the party criminated. The directors of the Bank in their pamphlet which has been laid on the tables of the Senators, in justification of the many thousand dollars of the funds of the Bank expended in political publications, say: "This has been done with regret that it should be necessary, but with the strongest conviction of its propriety, and without the slightest wish to disavow or to conceal it. On the contrary the Bank asserts its clear right to defend itself equally against those who circulate false statements and those who circulate false notes." And, although they deny that their object in paying an amount for political publications unparalleled even by the expenditures of any mere political party in this country, has extended beyond self defence, it is abundantly manifest from this pamphlet itself, that they consider misrepresentation and crimination necessary to effect that object.—The Bank has poured out its funds through its agent, who is not limited in the amount of his expenditures, in the most profligate manner to partisan printers. It is said one edition of seventy-five thousand copies of a single newspaper, printed at New-York, containing this report of the directors, and other offensive matter, have been lately circulated, evading the postage by addressing them to postmasters. It is also said that three or more editions of fifty thousand speeches, made since the commencement of the present session of Congress, printed on fair large type, at the expense of the bank, in one or more of which the Executive Head of this government is abused in unmeasured terms—have been circulated far and wide at the public expense.

If the friends of the Bank are in real doubt whether or not the Bank owns presses, and carries on the business of

party political management on an extended scale, the mass of the citizens cannot but be convinced of a fact of which many persons have ocular demonstration.

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But, Mr. President, my present object is to notice the panic and agitation produced by the distress for money which is felt in the commercial cities of the union. What has produced that distress? Both the friends and the foes of the Bank have admitted that the Bank, wielding a capital of thirty-five millions, and controlling the pecuniary means of debtors to twice the amount of that capital, can produce temporary distress. This fact admitted, the only question is, has the Bank taken those measures which are calculated to produce distress?

That the Bank can produce temporary distress at a given point, has been abundantly proved by the conduct of its branch at the commercial capital of New-Hampshire, in 1829. Very little of the capital of this Bank has ever been owned in that state. Three hundred thousand dollars were sent to that town, and loans to the amount of perhaps half a million of dollars were urged upon that community at a time when there was abundant capital in the State Banks for all the legitimate business of the town and its vicinity. This made money so easy of attainment, that men who had a little money and some credit, were induced to take more money from the Branch Bank and invest it in manufacturing establishments. After the Tariff law of 1828 had passed, the manufacturing stock fell, in many instances sinking the whole investment, so that where the Bank had had no other security, bad debts were made, and where collateral security was given, those who hired the money, and their sureties became the sufferers. A large portion of the business men were stripped of their all, and the Bank lost in bad debts some eighty thousand dollars.

To improve the affairs of that Branch, it was recommended that its management should be placed in the hands of a great Bank attorney, with an addition of some fifteen hundred dollars per year to the salary of its former President.— This Bank attorney, ignorant of the wants of the men of business, as he was of what was the true interest of the Bank, took it into his head because the Bank had made bad debts from speculators in the State, that the substantial men of business who remained, ought no longer to be trusted, and in violation of the terms of payment on which loans had been made, called on all the customers of the Bank to pay

four for one of what they were required to pay by the implied terms of their first contract. Preceding even this, he made a loan to a single house in Boston of nearly a hundred thousand dollars at one time, drawing the specie from the local banks, whereby they were for the moment unable to furnish the relief which they otherwise might have done.—The customers of the Branch Bank were pressed, they in turn pressed others, the specie which was the substratum of the entire currency, was abstracted, and the expansion and contraction of the United States Bank paper credit alone might be set down as the sole procuring cause of the distress and embarrassment which followed. It was this arbitrary breach of faith with the customers of the Bank that induced the merchants and men of business of all parties to petition for the removal of the man who had caused the distress. The present Secretary of the Navy, then a resident of Portsmouth, and myself, were the organs of the wishes of that community. Mr. Woodbury wrote the Secretary of the Treasury, expressing the dissatisfaction of the citizens at the conduct of the offending officer, and requesting the influence of that department to assist in correcting the evil; and I wrote two gentlemen of Philadelphia, enclosing for the president of the bank the petition of "sixty respectable members of the New-Hampshire Legislature," and another petition subscribed "by most of the business men, merchants at Portsmouth, without distinction of party," requesting that the cause of the trouble might be removed—that a board of directors of mixed political character, (instead of a board exclusively hostile to the state and national administrations) should be delegated for the year which was about to commence, and that the "institution in that State may not continue to be an engine of political oppression by any party." These were my words, and a most disingenuous use was made of them, and of the petitions which they covered, by the President of the mother Bank, who not only exposed these petitions to the derision of his agent, but justified and retained that agent in office, till by the force of public opinion, he left both the office and the State.

The oppression and contumely heaped upon the citizens of Portsmouth did not end the affair. This isolated transaction is made, in a publication bearing the sanction of Nicholas Biddle and eleven directors of the Bank at Philadelphia, at a meeting on the 3d December, 1833, the ground of a weigh-

ty charge against the administration. The pamphlet charges as follows :

" It was in the midst of this career of inoffensive usefulness, when soon after the accession to power of the present Executive, the purpose was distinctly revealed that other duties than those to the country were required—and that it was necessary for the bank in administering its affairs, to consult the political views of those who had now obtained the ascendancy in the Executive. *It is understood that soon after that event a meeting was held in Washington of the principal Chiefs, to consider the means of perpetuating their new authority, and the possession of the Bank was among the most prominent objects of the parties assembled.* The first open manifestation of the purpose was in June, 1829, when a concerted effort was made by the Executive officers to interfere in the election of the Board of Directors at Portsmouth."

When and where was this meeting of "principal chiefs" in the city of Washington to get "possession of the Bank?" The charge can be but the mere coinage of the brain of one who had doubtless often consulted the will of other "principal chiefs" as a guide to what should be his own course of action in future "fair business transactions." To give such a charge even an air of probability, it ought to have been followed by some consequences of a more marked official character, than letters from Mr. Woodbury, then not connected with the Cabinet, and myself, representing the wishes of an oppressed and injured community in the distant State of New-Hampshire. If it had been the object of the "principal chiefs" to lay hold of the bank, and convert it to political purposes, the Secretary of War would not at that time have attempted, for the accommodation of the citizens of that State, to remove the funds to pay pensioners from the vaults of that Bank to another State bank of more convenient location. At no time have the friends of the administration manifested a desire to convert the Bank of the United States into a political engine, or to take it under their exclusive control.

* * * * *

Mr. President, there never was a time more propitious than the present for the Bank of the United States to commence the "winding up of its concerns." If the directors of the Bank understood the true interests of the institution, they would commence the work with alacrity; and they would find that a course of mildness and accommodation

would be far more salutary to the Bank than the opposite course, which they now are pursuing. This, however, does not seem likely to be the case from present appearances.—Recent advices from the city of New-York, leave us to infer that the Bank has determined we shall not **"HAVE PEACE, BUT THE SWORD."** The directors of the branch Bank at that place have not only refused to unite with the local banks in attempting to relieve the distresses of the community, but they have refused to have it understood that they will not run upon State Banks for specie the moment these last shall discount for the purpose of relieving individuals; and these directors assign for their belligerent aspect the reason of their peculiar relations at this time with the Government! Those peculiar relations we are left to infer; and these we may safely say to be a determination to force the return of the deposits, and with that a re-chartering of the Bank.—Indeed we have it announced in the known organ of the Bank (the National Intelligencer) in this city, that the Bank will never consent either to take any steps for the relief of the community itself, or suffer the State Banks to do it, until the State Banks selected by the Secretary of the Treasury as places of deposit, shall themselves ask to have the deposits taken from them, and restored to the United States Bank! Here the People and the State Banks have their choice of the only alternative. The State Banks must be destroyed, and the distress kept up so long as the means to do it can be furnished by the Bank of the United States; or else the Government, the People, the State Banks, must consent to **UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER and DEGRADATION!** This looks so much like the conditions and requirements of a certain New-England conclave twenty years ago, who sent a mission to Mr. Madison, demanding of the Government to submit unconditionally to such terms of peace as Great Britain might grant, that I have about as much faith that the one will be attended with success as the other.

I readily and freely admit, that in the vicinity of the mother Bank and its branches, more than common pecuniary distress does now prevail. There they have put on the screws; and where the Bank had made extensive loans the pressure is felt—where the people have been so fortunate as never to have had the benefits of the Bank's capital, there is very little distress. It is the extension of loans and their sudden contraction which produce revulsions in trade—it is the facilities of credit suddenly caught up that cause the

distress. That the Bank can expand or contract—that it can at any time make money plenty or scarce where it has an exclusive operating capital, or wherever it can concentrate its operation, is true; and being true, furnishes the strong conclusive reason why I would never place the power again in its hands. With the strong expression of the people against the Bank, manifested in the triumphant election of General Jackson, I should consider myself a traitor to that people, now to vote in favor of continuing the odious monopoly. Wherever there is a branch of this Bank, there we find an attempt to oppress. Ever since the *Hegira* of Mr. Biddle's attorney-agent from New-Hampshire, the business of the Branch in that State has been small; from 1829 to 1830, the branch did not do sufficient business to pay the salaries of its officers—that is, the amount of interest on its loans was not enough to pay the salaries of its President, Cashier, clerks and waiters. But the little branch there, is contributing its mite to do what the parent Bank requires. A recent letter from an intelligent gentleman at that place says:—

“ You know that it is my great desire, that the monster which has so long held the purse strings of the nation should be prostrated, and no longer be permitted to tyrannize over other monied institutions. The monster seems however, determined to die hard, and do all the mischief in its power before it expires, putting on the screws with all its might. Even the little branch here is doing all it can to “make the people feel,” as they term it, by withholding discounts and getting hold of the bills of the State Banks in this town, and holding them in a menacing attitude, preventing our discounting to the extent we otherwise could.”

In the interior of the State, among the mass of the people, but little pressure is felt. The larger portion of these people are men who never ask for a bank favor—who rely at all times on their own resources, and who of course would prefer a hard money currency to any other currency. They do not believe that United States Bank notes are any better as a currency than their own State Bank notes; and gladly would they see the flood of paper circulation superseded by silver and gold.

* * * * *

On yesterday, I examined the report of the Committee Finance, and attempted to show that neither the facts nor the inferences of that report were sufficient to invalidate the

reasons of the Secretary of the Treasury for the removal of the deposits.

I attempted to show that the allegation is untrue, that efforts are making to array the prejudices of the *poor* against the *rich*, to the injury of the Bank.

I attempted to show that one of the present fast and influential friends of the Bank presented, fourteen years ago, such an array of facts and inferences as demonstrate most clearly, that those who then opposed and now support the Bank, are condemned from their own mouths.

I attempted to show that the present party opposed to the administration, have for a long time been panic-makers, whenever, out of place and power, they could invent any plausible pretext for creating excitement.

I attempted to show that the branch Bank in New-Hampshire, in 1829, and previous, played the same game of expansion and curtailment that is now playing by the mother Bank and its branches in all parts of the United States, and that although it succeeded in bringing ruin on some, it failed to make itself popular or acceptable to the people of New-Hampshire.

I challenged the proof to the charge made by the Directors of the Bank in their publication of December last that the "principal chiefs" of the administration had a meeting in this city in 1829, for the purpose of concerting measures to make the Bank a political engine; and have disproved that charge so far as strong presumptive evidence could disprove it.

I have shown that the Bank itself voluntarily put the question of re-charter or no charter on the result of the last Presidential election; that it took this position from choice, and put all its means, without limitation, into the contest, interfering and attempting to influence the elections to the full extent of its ability; and that the Bank now stands in the position of that individual who should propose his own terms—make his own bargain; and after he should have availed himself of all the privileges of his own terms, should insist that a decision should go for nothing, because it had been discovered that the right belonged to the other party; and claim a new trial by a tribunal which the people (the opposite party) never had sanctioned.

I have shown that the Bank has wantonly, and with malice aforethought, contrived the means which should break up the currency of the country, and destroy the facilities of trade and exchange; and that within the last six months it

has premeditated embarrassment and ruin to the trade of the country; that, through distress and suffering, it might force on the People what it could not obtain by a fair use of its capital and influence.

I have shown that a great portion of the suffering and pecuniary distress have been caused by over-trading and an inflated paper credit; and that this distress could at any time be produced by the Bank, whenever its owners and directors should feel it to be for their interest to bring the distress into operation to further their purposes.

I have shown that the pecuniary distress has not been confined to the United States. That it preceded, and was more severe in the British Provinces on the North, and in the West Indies, than it is in this country; and that it is even felt to a considerable extent in Great Britain, where a National Bank had just been re-chartered; from which facts it may fairly be inferred, either that the present distress would not have occurred at this time if the United States Bank had not wantonly produced it, or that we might have had partial distress, with the exercise of the best disposition on the part of the Bank.

I have shown, that in New-England, the sound state of the currency is not at all dependent on the United States Bank—that the local banks there regulate the currency. I have also shown that that the prices of the farmers' produce have been higher within the last two months than they have been at any corresponding period for several years—that where there has been no overtrading, there is no uncommon pecuniary distress; and that the great mass of the community are better off in a pecuniary point of view than they had before been for many years.

* * *

The people of my State, at every successive election, have sanctioned the veto of the President of the Maysville road bill, and thus declared that Congress has not the constitutional power to make appropriations for roads and canals, or any other mere object of local improvement.

The same people have sanctioned the veto of the President on the bill re-chartering the Bank of the United States, believing that institution to be "one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our Constitution," inasmuch as it possesses, "in time of war the power to dictate to the nation the peace it should accept, or to bankrupt the government by withdrawing its aid," and inasmuch, in time of peace, it has proved itself of sufficient

power to agitate the whole country, to break in upon the foundations of its great business, and to threaten its entire mercantile relations, with derangement and ruin.

The same people have sanctioned all honest efforts to reduce the taxes on imports, and have discountenanced the idea that our agriculture and manufactures can thrive and flourish only when the government shall secure to them a domestic monopoly by oppressive taxation. As they have opposed high taxes for protection, so they are opposed to those profuse expenditures which render high taxes necessary.— They have seen, not without regret, the disposition of the two last Congresses, to increase the public expenditures; they believe that millions are little better than thrown away which have been appropriated to objects of professed improvement; they do not believe it necessary for the welfare or prosperity of the District of Columbia, in addition to the immense amount paid in salaries and improvements of the public property, that there should be from five hundred thousand to a million of dollars annually appropriated to keep in repair or build her roads, bridges, and canals; they do not believe that two or three hundred thousand dollars should be appropriated annually for the benefit of printers employed to oppose and vilify the people's President and the people's administration. In short, the people of New-Hampshire have often expressed, and will continue to express the opinion, that the General Government should confine its action to the objects specified by the constitution; that strict economy should be exercised in the public expenditures; that no taxes should be imposed for protection, believing that community the best protected, which is the lightest taxed.

The same people have ever looked upon the two extremes—extremes which seem recently to have embraced each other—of consolidation on the one hand, and nullification of the constitution on the other, with equal abhorrence and disgust. They believe there is a redeeming power in the ballot-boxes of our country, in the intelligence and good sense of the whole people of the United States, not only to furnish a corrective for all encroachments upon State Rights, but to secure the execution of laws constitutionally enacted, whenever any minor body of the people shall attempt to resist them.

George Washington saved his country by his great prudence and forecast, especially in the winter of 1776-7, when a general despondency had taken hold of the people, and when, almost destitute of means, and with but the skeleton

of an army, composed of men reduced to skeletons by privation and suffering, he planned and executed the glorious victory of the 25th Dec. at Trenton.

Andrew Jackson also grasped the drowning honor of his country—shall I say, saved his country from impending ruin—by his prudence and forecast—by that mighty energy of mind which could create the means where the most of human kind would deem it impossible, and which stilling the clamors and caballing of treachery, converted a mass of the most incongruous materials into a formidable bulwark of defence; and what is still more matter of wonder, from these materials furnished the means of annoyance and death to an attacking army, which was the flower and pride of the enemy, in the great victory at New-Orleans, Jan. 8, 1815.

George Washington preserved the Union from the incendiary machinations of the Eastern foes to our republican confederacy, terminating in the abortive treason of the Hartford Convention, by that immortal legacy which enjoined it as our duty to "frown indignantly on the first dawning of any attempt to alienate one portion of the country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which bind its several parts."

Andrew Jackson also preserved the Union against the attempts of fomenters of mischief at the South, who, seizing the occasion of supposed oppression, taught an honest but deluded people, that no allegiance was due the constitution of our national government; he saved it, by energetically and promptly practicing in the winter of 1832, on the sentiment first uttered from his own lips, and which has since been responded by millions of freemen; "*The Union—it must be preserved!*" The bold and resolute stand which he then took, caused a fearful trembling among those who had threatened breaking down the confederacy, and forced them to retreat ingloriously from the field under the cover of a fire from those who had been the source of their complaints, and finally into the very arms of the party which had been the author of the oppression of which they complained.

Thomas Jefferson by his example and his doctrine, restored the constitution to its true reading, and expelled the corruption and abuse of power which a party in this country, obtaining an ascendancy have been wont to exercise—he confined the operations of the general government to its legitimate purposes—he opposed lavish appropriations and unnecessary expenditures—he was an enemy to high taxation, and to interference with the rights reserved to the

States—he invariably removed from office those imbibed partisans who opposed his administration and the popular principles of the country. He considered the national bank to be an institution of the “most deadly hostility” to “the principles and form of our constitution,” and had a bill, chartering the bank, passed both houses of Congress, there cannot be a doubt he would have placed upon it his veto.—For his strict democratic principles, for his enthusiastic attachment to the *rights* of the people, for his strong and lasting hatred to oppression of all kinds, no man has been more abused and vilified than was the illustrious apostle of American liberty.

Andrew Jackson under a system of increasing corruption, has again attempted and is now laboring to restore the constitution to its original reading. He has set his face against corruption and abuse of power. He would confine the public expenditures to the legitimate objects of the constitution. He would relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, and he would prevent all encroachments on State rights. He has removed from office some of the embittered partisans who deride his principles and his administration. Better than all, he has had the moral courage to take upon himself the sole responsibility of vetoing the charter of a bank of the United States, and has thus preserved the country from that blighting curse, a moneyed corporation, “possessing in time of war the power to dictate to the nation the peace it should accept,” and in peace the power at any time to produce extended pecuniary distress. And scarcely less than was the illustrious apostle of liberty, is the name of Andrew Jackson held up to reproach by the party which has ever been opposed to free principles.

More than either WASHINGTON or JEFFERSON has ANDREW JACKSON been successful in his administration of the department of foreign relations; there is no government in the world having intercourse with our own, that does not repose in him all the respect that is due to upright exertions and honest intentions; and his known decision of character has aided the peculiar situation of this country, to prove those concessions of right for his administration, which had been denied to all others; and truly may it be said that not only has Jackson filled the place, in the field and the cabinet, of both Washington and Jefferson, but that he has gone beyond them both in securing for the nation, the confidence and respect of all the principal kings, princes and potentates of the world. Hereafter shall his fame

be transcended by but few men whose deeds have shed lustre upon their species.

L.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE POST OFFICE, In Senate of United States, 11 June, 1834.

I had foreseen, Mr. President, from the commencement, that an attack was to be made, during the present session, on the Post Office Department. Circumstances had forced that Department into a position, that, whether culpable or not, blame might be imputed to its management: and that obliquity which has never tired from the day and hour President Jackson came into office, until the present day and hour, in blaming every act of his administration, would not let this session slip without presenting more "gorgons and chimeras dire" on the subject of the Post Office.

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When the complicated machinery of this great establishment is considered, the wonder is, how it should get on at all. We seem scarcely to be aware, when the mail enables us to converse every day with our friends, at the distance of five hundred or a thousand miles, carrying and fetching communications at the rate of a hundred miles a day, that the insignificant amount we pay in postage on a letter or newspaper, is the whole tax which is imposed on the community for the privilege. Yet how heavily are the people taxed for each and every operation pertaining to the War and Navy Departments! Nay, those very Departments, themselves a direct tax in every thing else on the public treasury, are saved hundreds of thousands annually, by free communications received through this very Post Office Department.

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The present condition of the Department ought not for a moment to be a matter of surprise, when it is considered that, in addition to the enormous burden thrown on it by the act of Congress of 1832, which established many thousand miles of new post roads, all the facilities asked for by

the citizens, and especially those urged by members of Congress, as well for increasing the speed of the mails, as for adding to the number of times of transmission, have been granted up to the time of an ascertained deficit to the receipts. The fault of the Post Master General (and I am not disposed to deny this to be a fault) has been that he has done every thing to accommodate the public, and thought too little of the means that were to accomplish it.

It is mentioned with exultation, that the "Department is entirely and hopelessly insolvent;" and a Senator (Mr. Clayton) yesterday took to himself great credit for having said three years ago that the Department either was then, or soon would be bankrupt. The Senator knows full well what party was in the ascendant during the last Congress.—So far as the action of Congress has been considered, there can be little doubt of a deliberate design formed to throw embarrassments on the Department. Suppose the plan had succeeded for abolishing newspaper postage, which was pushed with so much zeal in this body two years ago! Does any one believe that the Department could have gone on, supporting the additional burden which that act would have imposed? And yet the surreptitious introduction, at the close of the session of Congress two years ago, of a clause into an appropriation bill, extending the franking privilege to members of Congress for the whole year, and making that the permanent law, can be regarded in no other light than a predetermined intention to throw embarrassments in the way of the Department. The public have no correct notion of the extent to which this franking privilege is carried, covering not only the correspondence of members themselves, but that of their friends at home and abroad. These free letters are not only carried without charge, but the Postmaster is entitled to a compensation of two cents on each free letter delivered; and a single post office in one of the western States has been named to me, which, before this franking privilege was extended, yielded to the Department at the rate of twenty or thirty dollars per annum, which, since that extension, has actually brought the Department in debt to it some sixty or seventy dollars a year.

The same Senator (Mr. Clayton) says he entreated the Chairman of the Post Office Committee to assist him in arresting the downward state of things in the Post Office Department! I would be glad to be informed what measure that gentleman has ever proposed or advocated calculated

to lessen or prevent the expenses of that Department. If the fault-finding spirit exhibited by the gentleman towards it, has contributed at all in preventing embarrassment to the Department, the gentleman ought to have due credit for all his labors of love towards it.

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From the year 1810 to the year 1829, I was a contractor under the Department to carry a number of mails in the State of New-Hampshire. At no time, I believe, did these contracts exceed the sum of three thousand dollars per annum. Contracts were issued to me under Mr. Granger, Mr. Meigs, and Mr. M'Lean. In no instance, under either of these gentlemen, did I ever obtain a contract but on terms of fair competition with all other bidders. The circumstance of having been for twenty years a contractor, enables me to explain, what was yesterday made a grave subject of complaint against the department in the State which I have the honor to represent.

In that State, among a number of others, Horatio Hill is a contractor for several routes. As his name happens to be associated with another who is the conductor of a newspaper—for he is no political writer, and scarcely a politician himself—the keen optics of the committee were directed to the discovery of some alarming, some astounding favoritism in his case. They could not find, on a careful inspection of the contracts, any extra allowances, but they did find what greatly alarmed the Senator from New-Jersey. They found written out on the face of his contracts, what I have good reason to believe they would have found written out in other contracts in that part of the country, a grant of what is called the “newspaper privilege.” Now, sir, can you divine what this newspaper privilege means? The Senator from New-Jersey appears to be altogether in the clouds on this matter; and lest he should continue to suppose that the newspaper privilege in the Granite State were some infernal machine, slaying his political friends by thousands, I will attempt to quiet his apprehensions and set him right.

In New-Hampshire as in some of the other New-England States, almost every farmer and mechanic is well informed on political affairs, and takes one or more newspapers.—Ever since I had any knowledge of that State, in most of the towns through which a mail carrier passed, these newspapers are carried and delivered by the carriers, at the doors of those who took them. The privilege of the carrying and delivering of newspapers out of the mail has been

undisturbed ever since the establishment of the Post Office Department, although the law might be so construed as to require that all newspapers should be carried in the mail.— This practice had been continued without any notice of the newspaper privilege on the face of the contract, and newspapers were carried out of the mail through all parts of New-England. About four or five years ago, some agent of the department—and these agents have been kept up under all administrations—discovered that persons in some of the cities and larger towns, were in the habit of evading the payment of postage by wrapping their letters in a newspaper and forwarding it in the mail stage. To correct this evil an order was issued from the department, directing the carriers to carry no newspapers out of the mail. As might be well supposed, this order was not well received by the newspaper readers, they could not readily consent, while the carrier passed daily by their doors, to travel a distance of half a dozen miles, or even one mile, to a post office to obtain their newspapers. The department very soon relaxed its orders in relation to newspapers, and suffered the carriers to take them as usual. In some instances, if not in all, where newspapers had been thus carried by contractors, to put an end to all doubt on the subject, the newspaper privilege—meaning the right to carry and deliver newspapers out of the mail—was noted in the proposals—and where the proposals were accepted this condition was of course entered on the face of the contract. This trifling incident, in no wise altering what had been the practice from time immemorial throughout the whole interior of New-England, is the whole amount of the enormity that has been perpetrated with malice prepense, by the department, in the case of Horatio Hill. If the Senator from New-Jersey, or the majority of the Post Office Committee will call for persons and papers at the department, he or they will probably find that there are cases of contract other than that of Horatio Hill, in which this newspaper privilege has been inserted; at all events, they may ascertain, that the “newspaper privilege” is not confined to the State of New-Hampshire, or to one side of the political question, and that newspapers are carried out of the mail as well in Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut, as in New-Hampshire.

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The political friends of the Senators who assail New-Hampshire who are mail contractors in that State will not

thank them for the manner in which their contracts are noticed. Even in that State, which is pointed at as a greater political sinner than her sisters, much the largest amount of money paid by the post office department to mail contractors, goes directly into the pockets of our political opponents; and so long as they shall conduct as honorable opponents; so long as they shall continue to do business, and treat alike men on all sides of every political question; so long as they shall treat us as fairly as they do those who differ from us in opinion; there will be little disposition on our part to deprive them of at least equal rights with others in an honorable competition for the pay and emoluments of carrying the public mails in the Granite State.

I have said, sir, that the patronage of the post office department is not confined to the friends of the administration. Of the money paid to mail contractors; of the extra allowances made to mail contractors in the six New-England States, much the largest portion has been, and continues to go into the hands of political opponents. I was in this city as a mail contractor in the fall of 1828, previous to the closing of my contracts with the Department. The New-England contractors were generally here at the time. I was not a little surprised to be told that I was the only open and decided friend of the election of Andrew Jackson among them all, and was asked how I could expect to obtain any contracts. The contest was then fierce and warm. I was at that time the conductor of a newspaper, and had the fortune to be considered worthy of persecution for opinion's sake, by an accidental ascendancy of a piebald party in my State, consisting principally of old federalists, aided by a portion of nominal republicans, who were more anxious for the honors and emoluments of office, than for the furtherance of any honest principle. The same contractors who were here in 1828, in most instances are now contractors; not one of them, I will dare allege, has lost his contract, or been deprived of the benefits of his bid by the present Postmaster General, on account of his political opinions.

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On the whole, Mr. President, I cannot say I regret the scrutiny which the Post Office Department has encountered from the examination of a hostile committee. If that committee, seeking occasions to criminate the department, has discovered any thing censurable, censure should be bestowed as it shall be deserved. If the committee has told more than

was true on one side, there is also good reason to believe that much of the truth remains to be told in relation to the other side. If they have not spared the transactions of the friends of the administration in connexion with the business of the department, there is certainly good reason to believe that the contracts and extra allowances for carrying mails, and the blanks, paper, and twine, and other jobs furnished to their own friends, have passed entirely free from animadversion.

I listened attentively to the reading of both reports. I weighed earnestly the testimony that was adduced to prove corruption or intentional misconduct, on either the head or subordinates of the department, and I am constrained to say, that although the charges of misconduct are made with great confidence, there is much less of evidence to sustain those charges than I had been lead to anticipate from the rumors that were in circulation.

M.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE DELIVERY OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE, In Senate of United States, 28d June, 1834.

Ever since the quiet of the nation has been disturbed by public agitators in many portions of the country, relative to the Bank of the United States, the State of New-Hampshire has pursued the even tenor of her way—she has lent no helping hand to stir up the embers of public strife—she has taken no part in creating public panic and distress. Three panic memorials only have been presented to Congress from New-Hampshire, and these were from a corner of the state, embracing three towns, in one of which is a branch of the United States Bank, and in each of the two others are manufacturing establishments, principally owned and controlled by persons living beyond the limits of the State. The first memorial was originated by the Bank itself—the two others were the work of persons under the influence of the Bank, and not belonging to the State. The three contained about eleven hundred names, of a population comprising nearly or

quite three hundred thousand souls; and counting all the petitioners as citizens, scarcely one fiftieth part of the legal voters of the state have come here to ask either for the restoration of the deposits, or the recharter of the Bank of the United States.

The citizens of New-Hampshire, of the months that have been expended in reading and listening to speeches on memorials, have not probably taken a single hour of this session of Congress as their share. The democratic majority of that State has taken up none of your time—it has freely expressed its opinions, both at public meetings and at the polls, but it has contributed nothing towards interrupting the deliberations of Congress—it has sent no committees here to overawe the constituted authorities. And now, sir, the Legislature, the immediate Representatives of the People of New-Hampshire, have a right to claim your attention.

This Legislature was elected by the People on the second Tuesday of March last, at a point of time when the greatest alarm pervaded the community. The friends of the Bank, and the party opposed to the General Administration, made greater efforts to elect members of the House of Representatives in the several towns, than they had done at any time since 1830. The result of these efforts is seen in the vote of the House on these resolutions—one hundred and sixty-three Representatives, after a discussion of three days, voting for the resolutions, and only sixty-two against them.—If all the Representatives had been present, the vote would have been one hundred and sixty-seven to sixty-three.

But in the Senate these resolutions had a unanimous vote. That body consists of twelve members elected annually in as many Districts, and in these twelve Districts, not a single opposition man was returned.

* * * * *

The resolutions which I shall present, were offered in the House of Representatives on the same day that the Governor's message was communicated. Although the Legislature of this State had always been very decided in its political character, it is believed no parallel case since the adoption of her constitution, exists, where both a new Governor and Legislature have evinced so unequivocal and decided a spirit on national politics, as have this governor and legislature. This expression was moved at the first moment after the organization of the state government; and it proves the deep interest that is there felt in the present crisis, and the determined spirit of the people of New-Hampshire to resist all

encroachments on their rights, and to put an end to that odious monopoly which assumes to stand in the place of the government.

The resolutions which I shall ask to be read, are not couched in language disrespectful; they speak as freemen have a right to speak, in a tone worthy the best days of the Republic. The opinions here given, are in the main decidedly averse to those of a majority of this Senate.

These resolutions say, that the course of the administration and of the President, is entirely approved; and that the latter, by his endeavors to restore the constitution to its original purity; by his integrity and firmness; by staying the expenditure of the public money in an unconstitutional system of internal improvements; by settling that ariff on a satisfactory basis; by his resistance of all measures tending to a dissolution of the Union: by his veto on the bank bill; and the stand he has taken against the alarming proceedings of the Bank itself, has proved himself to be a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson the father of American democracy. That he only exercised a power conferred on him by the constitution, recognized by the example of all his predecessors, when he removed from office the late Secretary of the Treasury. That the present Secretary of the Treasury, in removing the deposits of public money from the Bank of the United States, has violated neither the letter nor the spirit of the charter of the Bank; and that his course is fully approved by the People, and was demanded by the profligate conduct of the officers of the Bank. That; the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered—because, unconstitutional in its creation, it has proved itself to be an institution of the most deadly hostility to the free principles of our Government, attempting to sustain itself and to obtain for its friends political power, by a course of bribery and corruption, setting at defiance the Representatives of the People, and veiling its transactions in secrecy and darkness. That the late Protest of the President of the United States, against that extraordinary and unprecedented resolution of the Senate, which pronounced him guilty of a most flagrant offence without either hearing or trial, was a measure justified by his personal right to vindicate his own character from unmerited reproach, and his imperative official duty to defend the Executive branch, while in his charge, from all intemperate assaults or unconstitutional encroachments; and that the Senate, in passing such a resolution, violated the first principles of justice, and unfitted themselves for the

proper discharge of those official duties which by the constitution (if their charges were true) they were bound to believe the House of Representatives would soon invoke them to perform. And they instruct the Senators in Congress from New-Hampshire to vote that the resolution which they condemn be expunged from the Journal of the Senate. They approve of the course of their delegation in both branches of Congress with a single exception;* and they request him to resign his place, who "has long misrepresented, and now misrepresents, the opinion of a majority of his constituents." I have the pleasure to state, from intelligence received this morning, that a new choice, in this solitary case, has been made: and that the expression in this new choice is no less decided than was that in each branch on the resolutions in favor of the administration.

These, Mr. President, are the sentiments of a State, which, although inferior in wealth and numbers to many of the other states of the Union, is second to no state in point of intelligence, integrity and patriotism. The citizens of this state have ever been among the first to come forward in defence of their country's rights. The war of the revolution, and the war of 1812, bear witness to their valor. No state, in proportion to her size, has sent forth more warriors, fought more valiantly, or bled more profusely. The time has been, before she knew herself, that this state was led in her political opinions by the influence of the metropolis of a sister state—when the money and the mercantile cupidity of that metropolis kept her in leading-strings. The day has gone by. The hardy yeomanry of New-Hampshire have become independent in property, as they are in free spirit. They rest on their own resources and their own judgment—they are under the head of no man or set of men. The millions of a monopoly cannot corrupt them, nor can a hundred thousand bank speeches, circulated gratuitously among them, change their opinions.

* Referring to the colleague of Mr. Hill.

N.

EXTRACT FROM MR. HILL'S LETTER TO THE
REPUBLICANS OF CONCORD, dated

WASHINGTON, 28 June, 1834.

The present session of Congress has been marked, beyond all others which have preceded it, with efforts and events which cannot soon be forgotten by the people. A chartered monied Institution that had for years basked on the public favor, and assumed to control the whole operations of business in the country, came into Congress at the commencement of the session. It had previously interfered in the elections throughout the country—it had failed in a great effort to supercede the present Chief Magistrate by placing in that station one of its Attorneys and partisans, and it had poured out its money like water, to give its friends places in either branch of Congress. Although in several instances it succeeded in securing the election of nominal friends to the President, who were really its friends, in Districts where in an open contest it would have found no favor, yet it is now a settled point, that independent of the doubtful, there is a decided majority in the House of Representatives opposed to the Bank. In that body the struggle has been a fearful one. The Bank has expended vast sums of money in urging the citizens of commercial and trading towns and districts to force on their Representatives a change of their votes; but it has scarcely been able in any instance where it has desired a change, to show a majority of the people even in those places, favorable to a re-charter. The partizans of the Bank in the House have hesitated in the performance of no act, in the resort to no expedient, which was calculated to further its views. But, so far as relates to that body, the cause of Truth and Justice has signally triumphed—the Bank and the Bank Attorneys have been voted down in that body on every important question, and although questions have been delayed day after day, week after week, and month after month, yet the termination of the whole matter in that branch, has been a greater majority on the last important question taken, (the bill regulating the deposit of the public money in the State Banks,) than on the previous and preliminary question.

An impetus to the opposition to the Bank in the House

has been given, by the failure of that branch of the Government in its attempt to investigate the concerns of that institution. The charter had expressly provided for an examination by either House of Congress, into the concerns and proceedings of the Bank; but in defiance of that clause of the charter, all access to these concerns and proceedings was denied by the Bank. This institution had long laid under the imputation of making corrupt appliances for the purchase of editors and newspapers, and for carrying on electioneering operations generally. Worse than this if possible; there was reason to believe that the operations of the Bank on the business of the country, through its secret committee—its cutting off the usual facilities for exchange—its curtailment of discounts at some points, while it expanded its accommodations at other points, either from favor, or to be able at a future time to curtail with more effect—had been the procuring cause of the pecuniary distress that had pervaded many parts of the country. An examination such as was contemplated by the Resolutions of the House, would have disclosed every thing that the people, who have an interest in this question, could have desired. If such an examination would have shown that the Bank had not been corrupt in its management—that it had not purchased political presses—that it had not expended large sums of money to pay for the millions of speeches in pamphlets and newspapers circulated gratuitously throughout the country—that it had not cut off the exchanges and interrupted the ordinary mercantile transactions of the country; can it be believed that the managers of the Bank would have suffered the opportunity to pass for furnishing evidence of its innocence? The refusal of the Bank to answer the questions put to it by the committee of the House, or to suffer its books to be examined, is *prima facie* evidence of guilt in its worst aspect—it is a confession not only that it is guilty of the charges which have been preferred against it, but of almost every other offence which we might imagine it would have an interest to commit.

But it is not in the House of Representatives where the worst aspect of things has appeared. The Senate of the United States, at this time has at least three members who are aspirants for the Presidency, each embittered to the highest degree against the existing Chief Magistrate, and each having a motive to throw every embarrassment in the way of his administration. From its very commencement on the fourth of March 1829, we have seen two of these

three men with their followers, pursuing the most reckless course of opposition. At first, while they were nominally a minority in the Senate, they were more restrained in their acts and less daring in their execution, than they have been more recently. There was not, for the two first years, an open alliance between the interests of the three; one of the aspirants was then in the Vice President's chair, nominally the friend of the administration. The next session of Congress after Andrew Jackson was inaugurated, may be marked as a new era in the history of the Executive legislation of the Senate. At that session the nominations of the President were suffered to lie for months without a decision. One of the aspirants generally had it in his power to control the confirmation or rejection of the nominees, and while these nominees were in duress, the candidate and his friends were plied for the purpose of discovering whether or not they willing to become partisans of him who aspired to succeed Gen. Jackson at the end of his first four years, and who purely because he could not throw the whole influence of the administration into his scale for that purpose, became henceforward its bitter and unrelenting enemy.—The history of the intrigues which broke up the first Cabinet of President Jackson is now pretty well understood. The events of that day—the means pursued to interrupt society and social intercourse in the city of Washington, for the purpose of breaking up this cabinet—need not at this time be recounted.

From the commencement of the first session of the last Congress, the opposition, embracing a majority of the Senate of the United States, has waged a warfare against the President and his administration, which is without a parallel in the history of this Government. Having been an eye witness of the course taken by the men who constitute the opposition to Andrew Jackson in this body, if I may be allowed in any case to judge of men's motives by their acts, I say fearlessly, that the whole scope of their efforts has been, not to legislate usefully for the country, whenever useful legislation should at all militate with their views as bitter partisans.

To create all the agitation and discontent possible among the people seems to have been the leading object of the opposition leaders in the Senate. Every measure that could appeal to the mercenary feelings of the people has been stirred whenever stirring could produce an effect. A large portion of the people, especially at the South, had become

deeply excited under the operation of the tariff laws. Every possible expedient was devised to prevent an amicable adjustment of that question—the north was pulling one way—the south was pulling the other way. Each was contending for interests irreconcilable to the other. Propositions for adjustment of the vexed question, were repeatedly made by the Executive, in such a reduction of duties as ought to reconcile all portions of the country. The public sentiment even in those sections of the country supposed to be most friendly to a high tariff, was fast settling down upon such a reduction of the imposts as the Executive of the nation had recommended. The great leader of the “American System” saw this tendency of the public sentiment, and was alarmed. Like the fickle weathercock, he suddenly veered round from point North East to point South West; he executes on this point a treaty offensive and defensive with the Nullifiers of Carolina, conceding at once all that the South required in relation to the tariff; he transfers his Eastern tariff friends like so many cattle over to the opposite doctrine, against which he had so ardently contended, and satisfies them that their interest had been consulted in this arrangement; and the high contracting parties attempt to despoil the administration and its friends of all the credit that was their due for having laid the foundation to relieve the people of at least one half of the burdens which the high tariff had imposed.

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Before closing this letter, I would advert to the rejection of several conspicuous gentlemen nominated for office by the President. Until the present opposition obtained a majority of the Senate, it had been considered as a matter of course to consult the wishes of the President alone in his selection of Cabinet officers—it had not been supposed that the Senate, confessedly not representing the public sentiment, should prescribe to a Chief Magistrate representing a vast majority of the nation which elected him, terms as to the opinions of his own counsellors and advisers. ROGER B. TANEY, a man as irreproachable in private life, as he is unsurpassed in qualifications for any public position in which he might be placed; the second day after his nomination as Secretary of the Treasury, has been rejected by the Senate.—And Andrew Stevenson, who for the last seven years had presided over the House of Representatives with not less approbation than any man who had ever sustained the same office—a man no less amiable in social life than he was prompt and

able in the discharge of every public duty—has also been rejected; both of these gentlemen within the last few days. These men have been proscribed merely for entertaining opinions adverse to the majority of the Senate of the United States in relation to the Bank. Madness alone could proscribe two such men, when those who had the power to reject knew that their rejection could not prevent others with opinions alike obnoxious from supplying their place.

I will conclude this letter by proposing the following sentiment, and am,

Respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

ISAAC HILL.

The Senate of the United States.—Useless as a check when it outrages the public sentiment—worse than useless as a balance when its scale turns against justice.

O.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH AT THE
DINNER GIVEN HIM AT HAVERHILL, N. H., 22
Oct. 1834.

Besides citizens of this State and county, I perceive gentlemen present from the adjacent State of Vermont. That State is quite as democratic in principle, if not in present practice as any of her sisters: during the last war, and in the great Presidential contest of 1812, Vermont was the last of the States of New-England to desert the democratic standard. And she would now have been among the foremost to support the general administration, had not an honest and unaccountable delusion been practised upon her by the adversary. That very delusion, under the circumstances, does credit to the character of her citizens. Many honest men have been honestly drawn into Antimasonry. It is not surprising that jealous republicans, after the abduction and cold blooded murder of a fellow mortal, after the pains that had been taken to identify that murder with the whole Masonic fraternity, should have looked on Freemasonry as dangerous to the liberties of the country.

I have good reason to believe that the propagation of Antimasonry was one of those plots, many of which have been

invented by the party who have attempted in various shapes to delude and mislead the people, believing they might be misled with impunity. Certain leading politicians opposed to the democracy, some of whom were themselves freemasons, were deeply concerned in propagating this delusion, that the public mind might be diverted from the true question in issue. A large sum of money was raised among the office holders in Washington in 1827 to establish Antimasonic presses in the westerly part of the State of New-York. Succeeding well there, another agent in the confidence of Henry Clay (a high mason) came to Vermont in 1829, and travelled through the State lecturing and preaching on the subject of Antimasonry, and so well succeeded as to procure for himself an election to Congress. This agent since the commencement of the present session of the Vermont legislature has been at the seat of government and earnestly contended for the proposition that the Antimasonic party, which is the most numerous party in that State, should be dissolved and join en masse the self-styled whig party!

There is evidently a serious schism in the Antimasonic party of Vermont. A portion of that party are honest democrats opposed to the United States Bank. They already see that the intention of the political Antimasons who unite themselves to the aristocracy is to make them the merest instruments; that those political Antimasons are at heart Tory federalists, determined that no honest republican shall hold any office. These are ready and anxious to unite with their brother democrats with whom they were wont to act in former times. Within a few days the Antimasons of Vermont have separated into two divisions, and there is little probability that they will ever again come together. The charm is broken in that State—the whole democracy of the State will unite; and we need not be surprised before the next great contest for the Presidency, to see the Green-Mountain Boys acting in full communion with the great democratic phalanx of the Union.

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An honorable Senator from Massachusetts also made his appearance at the Concord dinner “gladly in the character of a witness to bear conscientious and ready testimony to the able manner in which he [Mr. Bell] has supported the interest and credit of the State.” If to disobey the voice of his constituents—if to treat the people of his State with marked scorn and contumely—if to reproach those who have been repeatedly elected to important offices as being “the

"scum of the political pot"—if violation of his own plighted faith to resign when he should no longer represent the will of his constituents—if charging those who disagree with him in opinion with the "vilest corruption"—be supporting "the interest and credit of the State," then has the voluntary "witness" spoken the truth in this case. It surely needed some witness, not from another world, but at least from another State—from the federal "Bay State"—to convince any respectable number of citizens that the gentleman who had misrepresented the people of his State for nearly six years, had *ably* "supported the interest and credit of his State." The two gentlemen together would subserve the "interest and the credit" of the people of New-Hampshire by saving them from their worst enemies—themselves! This is truly in character for the aristocrat and contemner of the people's rights!

But the "witness" from Massachusetts has discovered "if the ancient revolutionary heroes of New-Hampshire—Langdon, Whipple, Bartlett, Gilman, Sullivan, Poor, Stark, &c. were now in the land of the living, every man of them would be on our side!" Does any man believe that these Patriots, if now living, would have espoused the cause of the self-styled whigs of the present day? [Yes, exclaimed a revolutionary man—Gilman probably might, but not one the rest.] Gilman was not, as I have understood, a revolutionary hero—I never heard that he either took up arms, or warmly espoused the American cause. But John Langdon and John Stark were living (said Mr. H.) since I arrived at the age of manhood—I knew them both—I knew the former personally to oppose Daniel Webster at the polls in Portsmouth, and I knew both Langdon and Stark, while living, to be objects of the inveterate political hatred of the witness from Massachusetts. If either of them had been in active life during the late war—as both of them, advanced to great age, took a strong interest in that contest—he would have done what the Massachusetts Senator never did—he would have marched to meet the enemy. If either of them had been in Congress, he would have voted, not as the Massachusetts Senator voted, against supplies for the army and navy, against raising men and money, but to furnish and sustain both. The gentleman would have found much to his chagrin that neither Langdon or Stark would have been on *his side* in that memorable contest, nor in any other political contest in which he ever was engaged. The ears of the

wolf are too palpable to cover such detestable hypocrisy from such a source in appeals to the men of the revolution.

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I have, said Mr. H. in my whole course as a legislator, voted against the chartering of Banks. I have considered the effect of paper credit and paper circulation to be injurious to the great interests of the people. Those who look back twenty-five years well recollect the evils which the people of this State then suffered from the sudden multiplication of Banks. The people of the county of Grafton from that day to the present have felt the effects of a bank monopoly in a few hands; do they want a money accommodation, not one in ten can procure it at the bank—but money can be had of somebody *near the bank*, may be at twelve, may be at twenty per cent.

Incredible as it may seem, the multiplication of banks and fictitious paper credit makes money more scarce in a time of scarcity in the precise ratio that it makes money too plenty when it cannot be used to the advantage of the holder. It is the paper system which produces sudden fluctuations and revulsions in trade.

The introduction of a specie currency is the best remedy against sudden revulsions in trade and credit. Late events have aroused the public attention; and I trust that soon the Legislatures of the several States will put an end to the circulation of small bank notes, beginning with those under five dollars, and gradually excluding them under ten and even under twenty dollars, if it shall be found useful. Already has the gold bill of the last session of Congress had its beneficial effect, especially in the state of Pennsylvania, where bank notes of less than five dollars had been excluded. That bill aided by state regulation will make gold a substitute for rag currency—it will be the means of placing the currency of the country on a foundation that cannot be shaken by all the panic makers that self-styled whigs can send into Congress—it will place it beyond the power of banks or a combination of banks to shake the public credit.

I have said I am opposed to state banks. When a member of the House of Representatives of this state in 1826, I take to myself some credit for having aided by my efforts in defeating the charter of a batch of fourteen banks which were then applied for in this state, and to procure which there had been a combination of local interests from several considerable towns of the state. Since that time, a few banks have been granted by way of defence against the in-

roads made by the numerous grants of other states. These state banks are all subject to state taxation, and contribute to the support of the public treasury; being under the control of our legislatures, they are not as dangerous as they might otherwise be. But restricted and guarded even as they are, they are still attended with evils of which, in the interior country, it may be a question whether these are not greater than the corresponding benefits.

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With any other man as President to resist its insidious power than Andrew Jackson, the Bank would probably have been successful. Defeated in the hard struggle of the last Presidency, the Bank had determined to put forth its whole strength in the next election; and for this purpose was husbanding its means to pounce upon the people in 1835-6.—The President, foreseeing what would be its enormous power if aided by the whole government funds, prudently resolved to exercise the discretion left to the Executive by the charter of withdrawing the government deposits from the Bank, and, by so much, lessening the power of the monopoly to injure the community. For this act of withdrawal, the Bank attorneys and all its minions have not ceased to cry out "Tyrant!" "A violated Constitution!" "Restore the Constitution and the Laws!" when we may fearlessly defy the combined ingenuity of all the Bank partisans in the country to point out in what particular the withdrawal of the deposits has violated either the constitution or the law! The wisdom of the man who alone is entitled to the credit of destroying the Hydra is manifest in depriving the beast of its means to injure before its fangs were whetted and prepared to strike the fatal blow; the desperation of the Bank and its retainers is increased in proportion to the disappointment they have felt at being compelled to take the field without that ample preparation that the whole means of the government would give them. This desperation is evinced in the recent elections in some of our cities where newspaper editors and men have been "bought like cattle in the market," and where blood has flowed from the stiletto and the fire arms used by Bank assassins. It is likewise evinced in that arrogance which assumed to deny to a committee of Congress an investigation as provided by the charter; that its enormities in attempting to bring distress and ruin on the country, and in corrupting the very sources of public liberty might be concealed. The same desperation is also evinced in the forcible seizure by the bank of \$158,000 of the pub-

lic money, with no better excuse than I should have to enter on the premises of my neighbor, and, under the plea of claim but without taking any legal steps to establish it, forcibly seize to my own use whatever property came within my reach.

P.

**EXTRACTS FROM MR. HILL'S SPEECH ON THE
TENURE OF OFFICE, In Senate of United States,
22d Feb. 1835.**

There seems to be a sort of hydrophobia dread of removals from office whenever a certain party is at the bottom of the wheel. The Senator from Kentucky says, the principle of dismissing men from office is a new principle—that it commenced about six years ago, when Gen. Jackson first came into office. So great has been the burden on the mind of the Senator since that time, that he may be readily excused for not recollecting what took place during the administration immediately preceding that of Gen. Jackson.—Does he remember that the editors of the two principal democratic newspapers in Maine and New-Hampshire, which had ‘done the State some service,’ while contending in a fearful minority during the war with Great Britain, were proscribed because they would not put on and wear the then executive collar? Does he recollect the declaration then made by a Secretary of State (Mr. Clay) relative to one of those newspapers when the Representatives of the State requested his reasons for proscribing its editor, that he would ‘have no neutrals?’ Does he remember that this Secretary proceeded to make these removals, as was stated at the time, even against the wishes or without consulting the Representatives of the People of those States?

The Senator has complimented the veteran GERRY for his opposition to the doctrine of Executive removals in the Congress of 1789. If he had been conversant with Gerry's administration, while at the head of the Executive of Massachusetts, in 1810 and 1811, he would have seen that he carried the doctrine of removals, in just retaliation of the universal proscription by the opposite party, much further than it has been carried by President Jackson. The name of the

revolutionary patriot was made a by-word with the aristocracy of Massachusetts, because he had the independence to prefer his own political friends to his political enemies, in his appointments to office. He was even arrested for debt on the day of the annual election, by his political enemies, to show their spite for his fidelity to the democratic party.

The Senator says, the people of the West cannot and will not submit to the turning out of officers; and he seems to take it for granted that the present administration alone is guilty of the enormous offence of preferring its friends to its enemies. What has the Senator himself been doing for the last six years? Have not his nightly cogitations and his daily speeches been directed to the business of turning out the 'hungry' and 'haggard' crew, who have obtained offices under Gen. Jackson? Can any man believe the Senator would have consented to the confirmation of any officer differing in opinion with him, if he could, by withholding that consent, have forced the appointment of one of his political friends?

It would be difficult for any friend to the administration in the Senate soon to forget the "armor and the attitude" of the honorable Senator from Kentucky, during the session of one year ago. The 'Long and Hungry' exultation at the old Hanover election in Virginia, in which our friends were turned out, and the Senator's friends were in full tide of success, had such an impression on my mind, that I have been scarcely able to think of any thing else than 'Long and Hungry' for office every time I have cast my eyes at the seat of the honorable Senator. It was most manifest, Mr. President, that the principal pleasure then anticipated by the Senator and his friends, was that of turning every Jackson man out of office that could be reached, either by the Executive, Legislative, or Elective power. The whole business of the honorable Senator for years seems to have been, either directly or indirectly, to bring about that state of things which would leave the coast clear, to the turning out of every political enemy, that the Senator himself and his friends might step into their places.

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Removals from office, after all, have been the great and crying sin of the Post-Office Department since Gen. Jackson came into office. From the opinions which have been advanced in the Senate Chamber, we might suppose that after a man is once seated in office, he has a right to it for life; it is very inconvenient for him to give it up, since he de-

pend upon it for a living; he has made his arrangements to keep it, and it will but deprive his children of bread to take from him his office.

I care not whence comes such a doctrine, whether from the North or the South, the East or the West. I say no man is entitled to an office one moment longer than he is useful in that office, nor has he the right to complain if the power which gave it, at any time shall see fit to take it away. When a man accepts an office, he either considers it a matter of favor to himself or favor to the public; if it be a favor to himself, how are his rights invaded by discontinuing that favor? If he accepts the office at a personal sacrifice, he ought to be thankful to be relieved of the duty.

The doctrine that once in an office of emoluments gives a man a claim to be always in office, will not stand alone. If we would see this government becoming one of the most corrupt on earth, we should favor the appointment of men to office for life. And this would hardly go far enough; for the poor children who would suffer if their father was deprived of office during his life, would certainly have stronger claims to the same office after the father was dead, when they were still more helpless.

In the elder Adams' time, the federalists very well understood the advantage of the influence and emoluments of office. In the State of New-Hampshire, from 1797 to 1804, no man who did not subscribe to the doctrines of the alien and sedition laws could even be appointed a justice of the peace. In 1798, a democrat clergyman was turned out of the office of chaplain, after a formal trial before the Legislature, because he happened to omit naming the President of the United States in his morning prayers. All the offices from high to low were filled by friends of the administration. The venerable WHIPPLE, and GARDNER, the one collector of Portsmouth, and the other commissioner of loans for the state, who had been appointed by Washington, were both dismissed from office by Adams, because their names were not found upon an adulatory address to the President which had been circulated at Portsmouth.

Mr. Jefferson came into the President's office in 1801; and what did he do? Without assigning his reasons to the Senate, he reinstated his own political friends, and he dismissed others who were his opponents. Whipple and Gardner were reinstated in New-Hampshire. Did Mr. Jefferson place other than a political friend in any considerable office? Did he not remove officers in repeated instan-

ces for no other reason than that they were opposed to the principles which elevated the republican party, and raised him to the Presidency ?

During his administration and the greater part of that of James Madison, Gideon Granger of Connecticut was the Postmaster General. The post offices in 1800, were not more than one for every ten at this time. Yet during those two administrations, in almost every considerable office, a change of postmaster was made for no other reason than that the incumbent was not friendly to the administration.

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These two cases are only specimens of the general turning out of federal postmasters in New-England, by Gideon Granger. It was not then as it is now ; there were no charges exhibited against the incumbent waiting for answers and explanations. If the democrats in any town were dissatisfied with their postmaster, they wrote to the Postmaster General, generally through JOHN LANGDON, the well known patriot of the Granite State, and the removal was as sure to take place as the day is to succeed the night.

The removals under the administration of James Madison were even more decisive in their character than under Thomas Jefferson. All the more lucrative post offices that Mr. Jefferson had left in the hands of the federalists, were by Mr. Madison, changed to other hands. In Boston, in Portsmouth, Newburyport, Hartford, Baltimore, and all other places where a change was desired, changes for political reasons alone, were made ; the most of them under Mr. Madison. And it is well known that for refusing to remove the Postmaster at Philadelphia for political reasons only, at the instance and direction of the President, Gideon Granger himself was turned out of the office of Postmaster General. Looking back to the administration of Mr. Madison, it must be recollected that he had even less affection for his political opponents than almost any other President.

It will thus be seen that the doctrine of change and rotation in office is not new. The old federalists at first insisted that no democrat was fit for any office, and never suffered any to be appointed while they had the power. The democrats, as was natural, when they obtained the ascendancy, as a matter of necessity, made removals of their adversaries, because, as Mr. Jefferson then said, "few died, and none resigned." From that day to this, much the larger share of permanent offices, depending upon executive appointment, has been held by the party in this country adverse to popu-

lar rights. The party has not scrupled, in all instances where they had the power, to turn out their adversaries.—Nor has it ceased to claim their right to remain in office, when the tables have been turned upon them. On the one hand they never cease to cry out “proscription for opinion’s sake,” while on the other, their very creed is based on that spirit of persecution which will tolerate in office, or even in prosperous business, no man who thinks differently from themselves.

It is to old Virginia, to Jefferson and Madison, that we are indebted for the republican example of doing justice to our own political friends when we are in the ascendancy.—They were not quite so magnanimous as Virginians have on some occasions since been. They did not think it of so little consequence what a man’s political opinions were, to elect men as members of the Legislature, who were decided political opponents, and thus give a character to one branch of her representation in Congress hostile to the principles which she has ever professed.

After the examples of Jefferson and Madison, sanctioned as they were by the strong public sentiment of the country, should it be imputed to the present administration as a crime, that it prefers its friends to its enemies? It was abundantly evident, during the panic of last winter, that a large majority of the army of office-holders in this District belonged to the opposition. Men who had been neutral before, viewing the triumph of the Bank, in its great contest for power, certain, did not hesitate to come out. Indeed, at this moment, the enemies of the administration stand a much better chance for favor than its friends, in every thing that depends upon Congress. All officers who want increased salaries—all who want increased expenditures, great appropriations, and great patronage; all who want to press doubtful claims to a favorable result; know very well on what side to look for favors.

As to removal of Postmasters, I am of opinion that the present Postmaster General has been in fault, and that fault is, that he has not, in some places, made changes where he ought to have made them. There are counties in New-England with thirty to sixty Post Offices, and scarcely a democratic Postmaster among them all. Perhaps not one in five of the offices in some of the New-England States is in the hands of a friend of the administration. It is well known that the opposition party in New-England not only do not suffer the friends of the administration to be appointed to

any office, but that they turn every man out, whenever they find a chance. When were they ever known to elect a man to Congress, or to any considerable office, opposed to their views? It is their general practice to exclude all from the highest to the lowest grade of office. Now it might be supposed that a party possessing all their pride and manly bearing would scarcely deign to be whining continually, because when they are beaten in a fair fight, they are obliged to give place in the principal offices of trust to those whom the people have declared better deserving of public favor, than themselves.

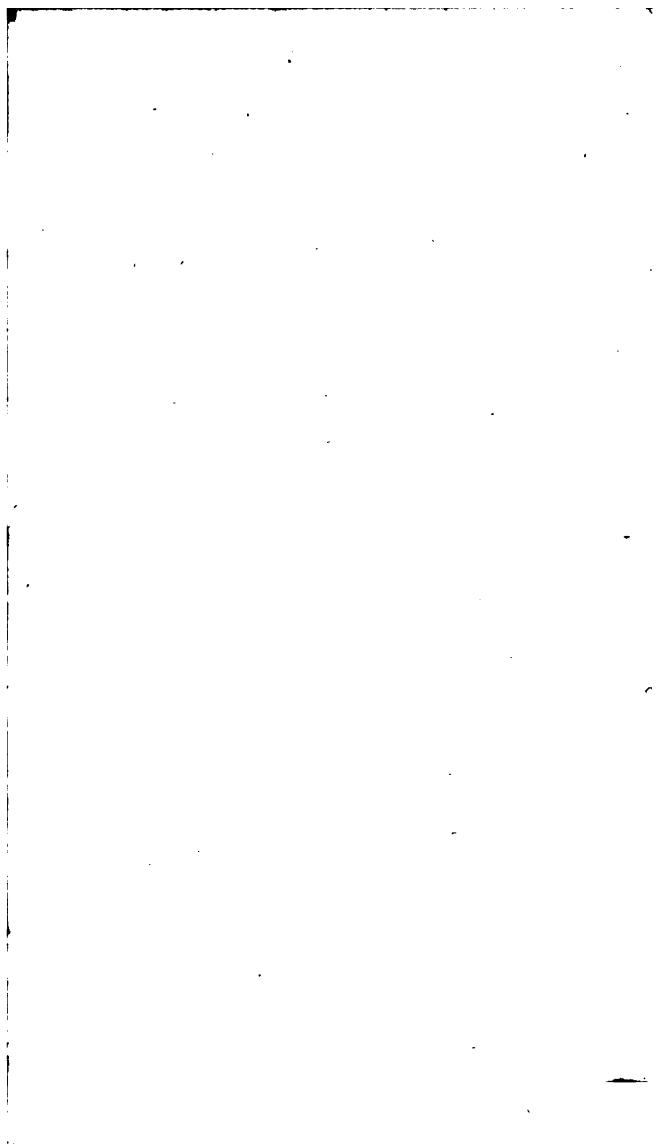
In New-Hampshire, Mr. President, we repudiate the doctrine that men have life estates in the public offices. With the republicans of that State generally, it has become a practice to send a man to neither branch of the Legislature more than two years in succession, to elect a man Governor not more than three or four times; to choose a man a representative in Congress not more than twice or thrice at most, if he be distinguished; and I hope to see the time arrive, when it shall be considered a rule, not to be deviated from, that no man shall be re-elected a Senator to Congress who has served for the term of six years, until a term of years shall have intervened.

The extravagant expenditures and abuses in the Government will never be fully remedied until the right of the people to instruct their Senators and Representatives shall be acknowledged in practice as it is admitted in theory—until a swift responsibility, on the part of public servants to their employers, shall be confessed—until rotation in office shall be considered a cardinal point in the republican creed.—Scarcely any man can come here four or six years without being committed on some one of those precedents which are taken as the ground of unnecessary expenditure; he has some friend who wants a claim allowed, or he comes from a section of the country where a handsome appropriation for the improvement of some river; the building of some canal or lighthouse; the fortification of some harbor—will do immense good to his friends and neighbors. He goes for that claim or appropriation; and when he has gone for it, he is bound in all good conscience to go for almost any thing that shall be proposed by any other member who has been so disinterested as to vote for his proposition. I am quite certain that it would be for the interest of every member of Congress to come here with the expectation that he shall not, in any event, continue in the House of Representatives

over four years, and in the Senate beyond six years, and that he shall retire at any moment the fact shall be ascertained he is misrepresenting the voices of a majority of his constituents. Sure I am that the public interest will be better subserved under the adoption of such a rule, than by continuing a man once chosen for life, under the repudiated rule of a repudiated politician, that the action of "the representative ought not to be palsied by the will of his constituents." I, however, am willing that each State should regulate its own practice in relation to rotation in office.—The party with whom I act in the State of New-Hampshire, is adopting a rule which, while it makes office accessible to every man who will deserve it, preserves the purity and economy and simplicity of its administration.

It would be more for the interest of the public service at the seat of government, if a salutary system of rotation in office should be adopted throughout. Many of the evils which now exist here, would be remedied by a change of officers. The idea of dependence on the emoluments of office, is degrading to a republican freeman; and it has degraded many who have spent their whole lives as clerks in the Departments, and died leaving destitute families.—I would have no man expect he is to remain in office doing servile duty or no duty, for life. If a law should pass providing that a man should not continue in any one public employment over twelve years—if one third of all the incumbents in bureaus of this city should be compelled to go out every four years, leaving their places to be filled by persons who, within the limits of the States, have inhaled the air of freemen, and know how to procure a livelihood without being paid an office salary—we should find a different state of things in the public offices; we should create a population at the seat of Government bearing some affinity to that indomitable spirit of our countrymen which best provides for itself on its own resources. Weakness and pusillanimity may always be expected in that child which is taught to believe that its parent will furnish its sole aliment.

I do not doubt the time will speedily arrive when offices of profit, depending as well on Executive appointments as on elections by the people, will be changed from one to another till it shall become a matter of course that each individual shall strive to qualify himself to discharge the duties of any office to which he may be called. I would even be willing to see the Postmasters changed where an incumbent has enjoyed



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